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THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXVI—1940

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SALEM, MASS.

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CAPT. NATHANIEL HATHORNE
1775 - 1809

Father of Nathaniel Hawthorne

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXVI

JANUARY, 1940

No. 1

PARENTAL AND FAMILY INFLUENCES ON HAWTHORNE.

BY MANNING HAWTHORNE.

Much has been said and written about Nathaniel Hawthorne's love of solitude, his inherent puritanism, his rebellion against that puritanism, — in fact, because little has been written of his youth, imagination has filled in the gaps and has attempted to make the character of the man as much of a mystery as that of the boy. Whatever a man may be, he owes partially, at least, to his parents and up-bringing. Here there is mystery in Hawthorne's life; for although the line of romantic ancestors and their activities from witch-hanging to swashbuckling adventures on the high seas have been repeated over and over, little has been written about his father and mother, and those relatives most intimate with him during his childhood. The father obviously could not have had much influence over his son, since he died when the boy was not yet four, and was away at sea most of those four years. It is to his mother, then, that one must turn in order to see what clues may be found to explain his character.

Elizabeth Clarke Manning was born in 1780, the third of nine children to Richard Manning and his wife, Miriam (Lord) Manning. Her ancestors had not been Puritan soldiers, legislators, or judges, nor did they follow the sea. Through her great-grandmother, Mary (Giddings) Manning, Elizabeth was descended from Henri of Navarre. Thomas Manning, who married Mary Giddings, was the

son of a widow Manning who came to Salem in the ship *Hannah and Elizabeth* in 1679. In the hundred years which had intervened between her arrival and Elizabeth's birth, the Mannings had been, for the most part, traders and organizers, builders of material fortunes, quick to see the value of a dollar, and wise in spending and saving. They were honest, hard-working men, with the pioneer heart for adventure, perhaps, but adventure in the field of business and money-making, in whom, through the generations, no shadow of the artist and little of the dreamer existed. The only way in which they resembled the Hathornes was in the generous fecundity of children, — a characteristic pretty generally held by most New England families of that period. Although they were not the men of action the Hathornes were, who cared not a jot for the feelings of others, men who judged and condemned, who dominated their rough crews by sheer physical and personal force, who saw only their own side in any question and had no patience with the strange vagaries of the human mind, no mercy for the sinner as they saw him;—though the Mannings were not a family of this sort, yet they prospered through the years, and in worldly goods they were better off than their Hathorne neighbors who lived in back of them.

Elizabeth Manning had been brought up, apparently, in the pious, reserved atmosphere that is characteristic of the wealthier middle class; and she bore herself with an aristocratic air so marked that it was noticed by her acquaintances. The only memento of her education is a tiny card on which is written:

This certificate designed to encourage a just Emulation in Spelling to reward the exertions of such as may excell in the second Class is imparted to Miss Betsy Manning accompanied with sentiments of approbation and esteem

by her Friend and Preceptor

Nathaniel Rogers.

She was, however, able to read and enjoy a wide variety of books which were on the shelves of her father's library. This love of reading she transmitted to her children, and wisely permitted them free access to any books that came

into their hands.¹ She was as well-educated as most New England women of her time. Simple, austere though such an education was, it was judicious, and gave to the New England woman in the earlier part of the nineteenth century a cultivated judgment that her grandmothers had lacked, and which was scarcely surpassed by her Victorian daughters.

The garden of the Manning house joined that of old Captain Daniel Hathorne, and the two families had enjoyed an amiable, though not particularly intimate, relationship for several years. The third son of Bold Daniel, Nathaniel, himself a sea-captain, became interested in Elizabeth, and on his brief and irregularly spaced intervals at home, he courted her in the silent, drawn-out manner of their day. In 1801, when she was twenty-one, and he twenty-five, they were married. A year later a daughter, Elizabeth Manning, was born while the captain was at sea.

Mrs. Hathorne spent most of her time at home, and this is the reason, perhaps, why none of her neighbors have been found who remembered anything about her. Several years after her husband's death, when she was in Raymond, one of her neighbors recalled that she was "a feeble woman, and withal very reserved. She was a pious woman, and a minute observer of religious festivals, fasts, feasts, and Sabbath days. She was inclined, it was thought by her neighbors, to be somewhat aristocratic."²

Although little is actually known about Elizabeth Hathorne, many biographers have spoken of her widowhood of forty years' duration, and of the strict seclusion to which she withdrew when she got word of her husband's death. This view partly is due to Sophia Hawthorne, who knew her only in her later years, and partly to Sophia's sister, Elizabeth Peabody, who in a letter to Julian Hawthorne, called Mrs. Hathorne a recluse.³ She added the fact that Hawthorne's elder sister, Elizabeth, patterned her life after her mother's.

¹ Elizabeth Manning, "The Boyhood of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Wide Awake*, XXXIII (1891), 503.

² S. J. Pickard, *Hawthorne's First Diary*, Boston, 1897, p. 14.

³ J. Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife*, Boston, 1895, I, 177.

As far as the latter part of Mrs. Hathorne's life is concerned, this statement is undoubtedly true. Both she and her daughter lived in retirement the last years of Mrs. Hathorne's life, and Elizabeth continued the practice until her death in 1883. But during her children's childhood, Mrs. Hathorne's seclusion from her family seems to have been exaggerated. The story, which was started by Miss Peabody's reminiscences some forty-odd years later, was seized upon by one of the earlier biographers of Hawthorne and embellished with new statements that have been more or less accepted by his biographers ever since. He said, speaking of her husband's death: ". . . the young mother, who was still but twenty-seven, followed a custom which made much of widows' mourning in those times, withdrew to a life of seclusion in her own room, which, there or elsewhere, she maintained till her death, through a period of forty years; and, as a perpetual outward sign of her solitude, she took her meals apart, never eating at the common table."⁴

This romantic tale of seclusion, so that her undying grief would not be observed by the eyes of others, would not, perhaps, be important enough to go to the trouble of refuting, were it not for the fact that to it her son's love of solitude has been attributed. If this be true, then Hawthorne himself would surely have spoken of it. He never did. Or, if not he, then his sister Elizabeth would have referred to it in her reminiscences of their childhood. A mother who never showed herself, who never ate with her young children, would assuredly make enough of an impression by her strange behavior so that her children or relatives would mention it. But they do not. In all the innumerable letters of the Manning family, no mention is made of this habit of forty years. Furthermore, Hawthorne, in speaking of his solitary life during the twelve years which followed his graduation from Bowdoin, said:

I had always a natural tendency (it appeared to have been on the paternal side) toward seclusion; and this I now indulged to the utmost, so, that, for months together, I scarcely held human intercourse outside of my own family.⁵

⁴ G. E. Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Boston, 1902, p. 4

⁵ J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

It is to be noticed that he attributes the solitude of those twelve years to the Hathornes, *not* his mother; and that in the period of his greatest solitude, he did not hold human intercourse *outside* his family.

There is another, more pertinent proof that Elizabeth Hathorne did not abandon daily life and her children, and live alone with her grief. This is the matter of Hawthorne's boyhood letters. If her children had seen her but seldom, it does not appear logical or even probable that her son would have written her letters, remarkable in that age in the tenderness and understanding they revealed that existed between mother and son. Throughout her children's youth, Hawthorne's letters show that his mother had a lively interest in their doings and those of her Manning relatives and that she was their close confidante, for Hawthorne never hesitated to speak his mind quite frankly to her. That she had periodic attacks of ill-health, as her Raymond neighbor suggested, is substantiated by her son's letters and those of the Manning family. As she grew older, these attacks became more frequent and severe, and are the probable explanation of her seclusion in her later years. This bad health might be an explanation of the impression Elizabeth Peabody had that she was a recluse.⁶

Elizabeth Hathorne may have been a recluse, but she ran a farm in Maine for years, ordering fruit trees for her brother Robert and superintending their planting. She may have spent her whole life in her room, but she kept a sharp eye on women's styles, for she was able to write to her sister and state just what sort of dress she wanted for her daughter. She may never have joined in her family's life, yet in nearly every letter she wrote to

⁶ Among the letters of the family which mention Mrs. Hathorne's ill-health are the following: Richard Manning to Robert Manning, Raymond, Me., October 20, 1816 and November 10, 1816; John Dike to Robert Manning, Salem, Mass., August 4, 1818; Mrs. Elizabeth Hathorne to Robert Manning, August 4, 1818, "My health is so bad I can do but little"; Richard Manning to Robert, Raymond, February 16, 1820; Richard to Robert, Raymond, April 5, 1820; and Mary Manning to Richard, Salem, February 9, 1829.

Salem while she was in Maine, she speaks of her homesickness and urges the Mannings to visit her.⁷

Although she started and conducted a Sunday school class in Raymond, her letters are not so filled with Biblical texts as were those of her sister, Mary Manning. She does not seem to have inculcated a like religious fervor in her children. Hawthorne never made any mention of his or his sisters' attending church while they were children, and his days at Bowdoin were filled with fines imposed for cutting prayers and Sunday chapel. If he received any reprimands from home for such conduct, he ignored them. Nor did he mention any religious doubts during the years when boys commonly have periods of scepticism in matters religious. If he had them, he kept them to himself.

There is one bit of contemporary information about Elizabeth Hathorne from one who knew her. Miss Rebecca Manning, who was a daughter of Robert, and Mrs. Hathorne's niece, said that the stories of her seclusion were greatly exaggerated. She added that Elizabeth Hathorne usually took her meals with her family and was absent only when she was ill.⁸

Hawthorne must have owed a great deal to his mother. She had been a sincere and devoted wife, and a mother whose teachings could not fail to impress upon her children a bias for the best things in life. Though her son was undoubtedly spoiled, to a certain degree, by his family, it was only in the matter of little indulgences, and almost inevitable with an only son. Fundamentally, he was a good son and a normal boy. He was not a selfish little prig as he might easily have been, because of the abundance of female relatives by whom he was surrounded. It would seem, therefore, that the credit of his up-bringing should go to Elizabeth Hathorne.

The feelings of companionship and tenderness that

⁷ In regard to Mrs. Hathorne's activities on the farm and in the church at Raymond see her letter to Maria Louisa Hathorne, in "Hawthorne Prepares for College," *New England Quarterly*, XI (March, 1938), pp. 76-77.

⁸ Rebecca B. Manning (1834-1933), although she lived to a great age, had an accurate and keen memory, as she proved over and over again. She gave this piece of information to me.

existed between mother and son apparently weakened to some extent as the years went on. Hawthorne himself gives the reason for this in his description of his mother's dying hours:

At about five o'clock, I went to my mother's chamber, and was shocked to see such an alteration since my last visit, the day before yesterday. I love my mother; but there has been ever since my boyhood, a sort of coldness of intercourse between us, such as is apt to come between persons of strong feelings, if they are not managed rightly. I did not expect to be much moved at the time — that is to say, not to feel any overpowering emotion struggling, just then — though I knew I should deeply remember and regret her. Mrs. Dike was in the chamber. Louisa pointed to a chair near the bed; but I was moved to kneel down close by my mother, and take her hand. She knew me, but could only murmur a few indistinct words — among which I understood an injunction to take care of my sisters. Mrs. Dike left the Chamber, and then I found the tears slowly gathering in my eyes. I tried to keep them down; but it would not be — I kept filling up, till, for a few moments, I shook with sobs. For a long time, I knelt there, holding her hand; and surely it is the darkest hour I ever lived. Afterwards, I stood by the open window, and looked through the crevice of the curtain. The shouts of laughter, and cries of the two children had come up into the chamber, from the open air, making a strange contrast with the death-bed scene. And now, through the crevice of the curtain, I saw my little Una of the golden locks, looking very beautiful; and so full of spirits and life that she was life itself. And then I looked at my poor dying mother; and seemed to see the whole of human existence at once, standing in the dusty midst of it. Ah what a mockery, if what I saw were all, — let the interval between extreme youth and dying age be filled up with what happiness it might! But God would not have made the close so dark and wretched, if there were nothing beyond; for then it would have been a fiend that created us, and measured out our existence, thrust out of life into annihilation in this miserable way. So, out of the bitterness of death, I gather the sweet assurance of a better state of being.⁹

⁹ Randall Stewart (ed.), *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932, pp. 210-211.

In turning to Hawthorne's father, there is still less from which to reconstruct him. The chief impression one gets of Captain Nathaniel Hathorne is that of silence. In this way he was different from his father, Bold Daniel, who had a reputation for bluster and sternness, — a reputation which came largely from his nautical friends. One old sea captain, on learning of the betrothal of Elizabeth Manning to Nathaniel Hathorne, stopped Elizabeth's father on the street.

"I hear your darter is going to marry the son of Captain Hathorne?"

"I believe she is," Mr. Manning had replied.

"I know him," the old Captain had continued, "I knowed the old man, and he was the sternest man that ever walked a deck!"¹⁰

Salem did not know the Hathornes particularly well, for with their declining prosperity and loss of prestige throughout the decades of the eighteenth century, they had withdrawn more and more to themselves. Their austerity of manner, their composed indifference to the opinions and interests of their Salem neighbors, were reproduced in their famous descendant. Yet, although they had lost the friendship of Salem, the Hathornes never lost its respect.

The sea captain who courted the girl next door was no different from the rest of the Hathornes in this respect. He had been disciplined from early youth by the exigencies of the quarter deck; his gravity came from years of responsibility and command. There is a tradition that he was inclined to melancholy, as well as reticence; and that, although he was an admirable shipmaster, he was also an assiduous reader and always carried great numbers of books with him on his voyages. His picture seems to bear proof of his inherent sadness, and it was not unusual for sea captains to take libraries with them on their long voyages. In appearance his son was very like him, for a sailor once stopped Hawthorne when he was Surveyor of Customs in Salem, and asked him if he were

¹⁰ L. Morris, *The Rebellious Puritan*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927, p. 9.



ROBERT MANNING
Uncle of Nathaniel Hawthorne

From a miniature in possession of the Essex Institute

related to Captain Hathorne. He had recognized him by his likeness to his father.¹¹

If Hawthorne himself attributed his taciturnity and his love of solitude to his father, and there seems to be good grounds for so doing, he was affected by him, according to family tradition, in yet another way. The suddenness and loneliness of Captain Hathorne's death, so far away from Salem, must have had some effect on his son. He was, in all probability, too young to remember his father, and the consequences of the Captain's death would therefore be the more powerful and mysterious. Lathrop tells us that when Hawthorne was very small, ". . . he would break out from the midst of childish brooding and exclaim, 'There mother! I is going away to sea some time . . . and I'll never come back again!'"¹²

This tale is not improbable. A young boy, who did not have much opportunity to mix with children of his own age, and who had an unusually imaginative nature, under such circumstances would be very likely to think of his father often, and make up all sorts of stories about him.

Other than the tendencies he inherited from them, Nathaniel was little affected by his Hathorne relatives, who had nothing to do with his bringing-up. Shortly after her husband's death, Mrs. Hathorne, being unable to support herself and her children on the little property that had been left her, moved back into her father's house.¹³ The Manning family was a large one, and at the time the Hathornes were there, all but one of them were living at home.¹⁴ It is no wonder that Mrs. Ha-

¹¹ G. P. Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne*, Boston, 1876, pp. 61-62.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹³ The Hathorne family at this time consisted of Bold Daniel's widow, Rachel (Phelps) Hathorne, (1734-1813), and her two unmarried daughters, Eunice, (1767-1827), and Ruth, (1778-1847). There were also three married daughters, often mentioned in the Manning correspondence, and whom the Hathorne girls, Elizabeth and Louisa, frequently visited. They were Rachel, (Mrs. Simon Forrester), (1757-1823); Sarah, (Mrs. John Crowninshield), (1763-1827); and Judith, (Mrs. George Archer), b. 1770. A son, Daniel, born 1768, is never mentioned in any of the letters.

¹⁴ It was composed of Richard, (1755-1812); his wife, Miriam

thorne took her children to Raymond as soon as she could.

There is no doubt that the Mannings took an interest in their nephew and their nieces, but in such an overcrowded home, no particular attention could be paid to them. Yet it was Robert Manning¹⁵ who took upon himself, not only his sister's business affairs, but also his nephew's education. Robert, who had become a broker in Salem when barely out of his teens, and later took over the management of the stagecoach company his father owned, was not only a man of unusual business ability, but he became a noted pomologist as well. He began to collect choice varieties of fruit trees in 1817, and at his death he had the finest orchards in America. Financially, he made it possible for his nephew to attend school and college and was probably the person most responsible for Hawthorne's subsequent career in literature.

Mary, the eldest daughter, who remained unmarried, was more or less in charge of her nephew during the two years he was separated from his mother and sisters and was in Salem preparing for college. Though he chafed under her restrictions and on occasion, during his boyhood, spoke unkindly of her, she apparently took an interest in him, and, as maiden aunts are apt to be, had definite ideas about his up-bringing which interfered with his freedom. When Hawthorne was older, he recognized her devotion to him and appreciated it.

The Manning brothers were all busy with their various interests and affairs and were away from Salem for much of the time; and although Robert watched the progress of Hawthorne's education carefully, it naturally happened that the boy spent his childhood almost entirely in the society of women. That this situation had an effect on his character cannot be denied. Undoubtedly it would

(Lord) Manning, (1748-1826), and the following children: 1. Mary Manning, (1777-1841); 2. William, (1778-1864); 3. Elizabeth Hathorne, (1780-1849); 4. Robert, (1784-1842); 5. Maria, (1786-1814); 6. John, (1788-1812); 7. Priscilla (Manning) Dike, (1790-1873), before her marriage; 8. Samuel, (1791-1833). There was another son, Richard, (1782-1831), who lived in Raymond, Maine. He died and was buried there.

¹⁵ F. C. Sears, "Robert Manning," *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, XII, 252-253.

have been better for him if he had mixed more with boys of his own age and had had a father to guide him. Although he began normally enough to play with boys of his own age, an accident while he was playing ball caused a lameness that lasted several years and necessitated his remaining at home. By the time he was well enough to join them once more, he was at Raymond, where playmates were few. Yet, indirectly, his childhood may have been all for the best. Being of an independent spirit, he withdrew as much as he could from the feminine society in which he found himself (with the exception of his mother and sisters), and, as a result, filled his lonely hours with reading and dreaming. This tendency was strengthened by his lameness, for the forced idleness turned him even more to his books and his introspection. It may not have been a particularly healthy existence, but it must have been partly responsible for his future career.

While the whole family were living at the Manning house, the children were left largely to their own devices, as far as amusement was concerned. Robert Manning's daughter-in-law gave a picture of their existence:

There is nothing in Salem more closely connected with Hawthorne's early life than the mementoes of this old house; the little chair used by him and his sisters when children, the silver porringer engraved with his grandmother's name, Miriam Manning, her large armchair with its claw feet, his grandfather's corner chair, the mahogany card table that stood in his mother's parlor, and the book shelves that hung above the old sideboard on the opposite side of the room, on which were ranged volumes of Addison's *Spectator*, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Thomson, Johnson's *Idler*, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, which was a special favorite, and Pilgrim's Progress over which Hawthorne would muse for hours. . . . The children grew up untrammelled, developing their individual characteristics; the family had no fondness for music. Hawthorne writes of himself: "I have no ear for an organ or a jewsharp nor any instrument between the two."¹⁶

Hawthorne's youth, then, was spent almost entirely with his Manning relatives. Though he knew his Hawthorne aunts, they had nothing to do with his rearing or

¹⁶ E. Manning, *The Boyhood of Hawthorne*, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

his education. Raised by the Mannings, educated by the Mannings, in their society constantly, for even in Raymond there was a Manning uncle, Hawthorne, in spite of it all, remained fundamentally a Hathorne. It was of his paternal ancestors he thought and with whom he felt himself most closely akin: martial old William, who had come from England on the *Arbella*; the witch-persecutor, Judge John; quiet, home-keeping Farmer Joseph; bold and blustering privateer Captain Daniel; and his silent, melancholy father, Captain Nathaniel. In his essay on "The Custom House," which prefaces *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne said: "The figure of that first ancestor, [William], invested by family tradition with a dim and dusky grandeur, was prominent to my boyish imagination, as far back as I can remember. It still haunts me, and induces a sort of home-feeling with the past."¹⁷

He had his mother's gray eyes, and her gentle manners, her reserve and thoughtfulness as well; but he was all Hathorne otherwise, — in appearance, in thought, in feeling, and in imagination. The Mannings had very little effect upon him. There was the adventurous, restless strain within him which would never submit to a stool in the office of his uncles' stage-coach line, that turned him from the ministry, the law, and medicine, — in fact, all safe and respectable professions, to the uncertain one of a writer. If he had not been a writer, he is quoted as saying, he would have followed the sea. He was never so happy as when he was near it; so this statement is very likely true.¹⁸

Be that as it may, the spirit of his ancestor William, who left the comfort and security of his English home to come to an unknown land and start from the very earth itself, burned sufficiently strong in his descendant to make him turn his back upon the conventional existence of his maternal relatives and follow the hazardous path of literature, — a path, which, in those days, led nobody knew where. It may be protested that he would not have done this, had he not been supported during the twelve years

¹⁷ N. Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, Boston, 1850, p. 9.

¹⁸ G. P. Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

following his graduation from Bowdoin. If the ghosts of his ancestors had gathered around the baby's cradle on the day of his arrival into this world, and looking ahead, saw his future, they would have called him a changeling and would have washed their hands of him. His life, his ambition, his work, and his rewards were to be remote from theirs. He would carry the name of Hawthorne farther than the furthest-faring of his sea-going ancestors, but by a different road. He would care nothing for what to his forefathers had seemed of supreme importance, while what he was to strive for and accomplish would have been, for them, little more than fantasy and failure.

HAWTHORNE'S BOWDOIN COLLEGE BILLS.

Nathaniel Hathorne to the President & Trustees of
Bowdoin College, Dr.

1821. Dec^r 19. To term Bill due the day \$12.87
February 18, 1822

Received payment

J. Abbot, Treas. of Bowdoin College.

Brunswick Dec. 19, 1821.

Nathaniel Hathorne to S. T. Newman, Dr.

To board 11 weeks at 1.75 per week 19.25

Received payment

S. T. Newman.

— *Hawthorne Collection, Essex Institute.*

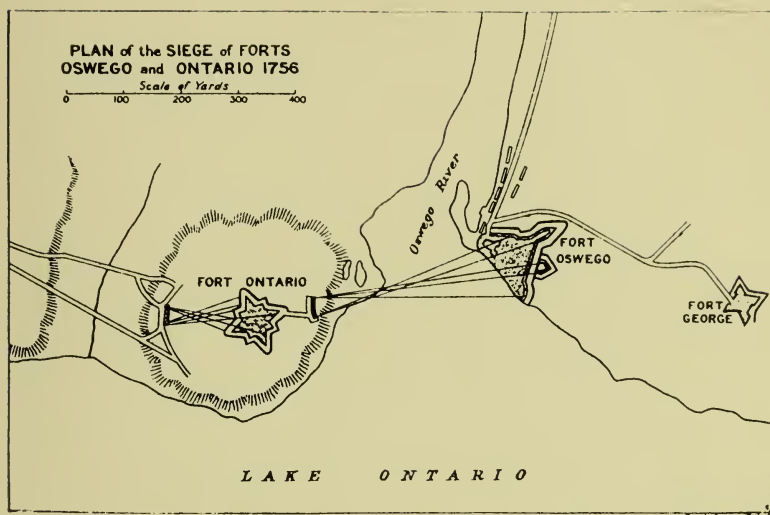
JOURNAL OF STEPHEN CROSS OF NEWBURY-
PORT, ENTITLED "UP TO ONTARIO," THE
ACTIVITIES OF NEWBURYPORT SHIP-
BUILDERS IN CANADA IN 1756.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MISS SARAH E. MULLIKEN.

(Continued from Volume LXXV, page 357.)

August 13th. this Morning find the Enemy have got an entrenchment hove up within about 100 yards of fort Ontario, so high, as to cover them from our Shot. in the Night, Coll Schyler with his men, moved out to fort Raskell. the Carpenters went And cut some timber, and fortified A Magazen, in that fort, and aded some little addition, to fortifying the Fort. our vessells Return again into the Harbour. the Enemy Keep A Brisk and Constant fire, with Small arms, on the Fort Ontario. one man Killed. our Men Return the fire, both of Small Arms & Cannon, but Mostly at Random. the Enemy Scarsly Seen, Untill about Noon: when our Men being in Number about 450, Evacuated the Fort, and Cros^d the River. went and Joyned Col: Schuyler in our poor Pittyful Fort Raskell which was on Rising Ground Just in the Edge of the Woods, about 2 Musket Shots from the Main Fort: the Enemy Soon took Posession of Fort Ontario, and now we are Altogether Exposed to the Enemy, they having the Ground on the other Side the River which is high, and looks directly into our Main fort, which is on a High Point, with a Decent to the Lake and River, and a Fasheen on the land side, the Cannon Mounted, in ambezuens that way. Fort Ontario was its defence on the River Side, which is now gone, and Nothing to Defend us that way, but the old Stone House, which was called the Old Fort, but of no Consequence, Either for Bigness, or Strength, against Cannon; thus we find our Selves in a Pityfull Situation; and no way of Retreat or Escape.

Saturday August 14th. On the Appearance of Day light our Morning Gun was fired as usual, But A Shot



THE SIEGE OF FORTS OSWEGO AND ONTARIO BY MONTCALM IN 1756
AS WITNESSED BY STEPHEN CROSS

From Sir William Johnson Papers, published by New York State University,
and credited to Wood's "The Passing of New France."

Put in it, and pointed to Fort Ontario, Concluding the Enemy to be there; we were immediately answered by 12 Shot, from so many heavy Cannons which they had Prepared in a fasheen Battery, on the high Bank of the River, before the fort (in the Cover of the Night) Upon which, our Guns were Briched about, on their platforms, all that Coild be Brot to Bear, and as Severe A Cannonade on Both Sides, as Perhaps Ever was, until about 10 o'clock. about this time we Discovered the Enemy, in Great Numbers, Crossing the River; and we not in force Sufficent to go up and oppose them, and being Judged not safe, any longer, to Keep the Men, in Fort Raskel, that was Evacuated; and we all were Huddled together, in and about the Main Fort, the Comadent, Coll Manser, about this time was killed by a Cannon Ball; thus the man who this week had the lives of valuable men in his hands, and would not extend Mercy to them, now had not time, not even to sue for his own life; the Enemy now appearing on the edge of the Woods, and many of our Men Killed and Wounded, and no Place of Shelter, in any Quarter; A Council of War, was held in the Ditch; A Parley was beat, and A Flag For A truce hung out; and our Fire Stopped Upon which, the Enemys Fire also Seased; an officer Sent over with A Flag and one of their officers Came over to us; and our Commanding officer, Proposed, to give up the fort, on Conditions of their Giving us leave to March off Unmolested; with our arms and two Pieces of Cannon; this was Refused, and no Other Terms would they acceed to, but our Delivering up the fort, with all the Stores, and we to be Prisoners of War, and to be sent to Canada; at length this was Accepted; and an officer Came over to take Possession, the Canadians and Indians, came flocking in from all Sides. we were all ordered to cross the River, and put ourselves under the Protection of the french Regular army; thus, this Place fell into the hands of the French; with a Great Quantity of Stores. we suppose about 9000 Barrells of Provisions, A Considerable Number of Brass, and Iron Cannon, and Morters; one Vessell just Launched, two Sloops Peirced for 10 Guns each, one Schooner Peirced for 10 Guns, and one

Row Gally, with Swivels, and one Small vessell on the Stock about Half Built, A great Number of Whailboats, and as Near as I can Judge between 14 & 16 hundred, Prisoners; Including Soldiers, Sailers, Carpenters, and other artificers, Settlers, Indians, traders, Women, and Children. the Army to Which we Surrendered, Consisted of 5 Regiments of Regular Troops, and about 1000 Canadians, and Indians, with an Artilery, Consisting of 40 Peices of Cannon, besides Morters and Howitzars, mostly if not all Brass, and it is Laid to be the Artilery, which was taken from Genⁿ Braddock, at the Ohio; on going over to the French Army, we was ordered into fort Ontario, which was Made our Prison for the Present; and A Guard Set Round us, for two Reasons, one to Prevent our Stragling off, and another, to Prevent the Indians from Murthering us; as we Understood, they had all the Sick, and Wounded, and those who instid, of Coming directly over the River to the French Regular troops, went to the Setlers, and traders Houses, and Intoxicated themSelves with liquor. this Army was Commanded by Genⁿ Montcalm; all those who obeyed the orders, and Crossed the River, to the French Army, was verry well Used; Some of our Soldiers, before they Came over, went to the Stone Houses, and filled their Canteens with Rum and Asoon as they were Got Safe into fort Ontario, under the French Guards; began to Drink and Soon Got Intoxicated, and Soon began fighting, with oneanother; while others Singing, Dancing, Hollowing, and Cahoopng, that it appeared More like a Bedlam, than A Prison; Soon after the Indians had got into our fort, they went Searching for Rum; which they found, and began to Drink, when they Soon became like so Many hel Hounds; and after Murdering, and Scalping, all they Could find on that Side, Come over the River with A Design, to do the Same to all the Rest; and on their Coming Near the Fort where we was, and hearing the Confused noyes of those within; United their Hideous Yells and Rushed the Guards Exceeding hard, to git in among us, with their Tomehawks; and it was with Great difficulty the French, Could Prevent them; in the Evening Some French officers, Come into

the Fort, and told us, excep we would be still, they Could not Keep the Indians out, from us, and Must, and Would, take off their Guard, for they were so Raveing distracted, by hearing ower nois, that Except we were Still, they must give us up; but all Signefied Nothing. our Drunken Soldiers Continued their Noyes, and the Indians, their Strugles & Yelling, Until the operations of the Liquor, togather with the Strong Exercions, began to dispose boath Parties to Sleep, which about 12 oc Clock took Place, and to our great Joy, all was Quiet.

August 15th. this Morning all verry Quiet; and the French treat us Civilly: two french Schooners arrived; and the French are Employed in Loading the vessells with the Provisions Stores Cannon &s; and demolishing our Forts, and Sending away our officers and Men, and Continued in this Buisness, Until the 19th about one Hower before Sun Sett all the Prisoners which had not been Sent off (among which We Were) was Shiped on Board Boats, and Sent off; rowed about 15 Miles, then Put on Shore, and Stopped for the Night, but we were not allowed to land, but must ly on Board the Boats, 15 being on Board the Boat in which I was, which Made it Uncomfortable:

20th. at daylight Set out, and Rowed all day, without Stoping but once, on Shore, about half an Hower. Suppose we went this day, about 40 miles. at Night Come to A Pinensula, where we find the French have A Stockadeo fort, and A Number of Soldiers. this Place we Suppose to have been the General Randisvoos of their Army; we are Obliged to ly on Board our Boats another Night.

21 we are Put on Shore. the Boats we Come in went off with their loading; and A Number More Boats Arrive from Oswego:

22 the whole of the French Army Arrive, from Oswego; and after the whole are landed, the Army was drawn up, and fire three vollies:

23d 25th Prisoners, are ordered to Imbark, on Board Battos, to go for Montreal: (among which were all the Newbury Carpenters) Except Moses Bayley, Swasy Dole and Chandler) the later having been Unwell A long time

was Now verry Sick. we Set out about 9 in the Morning, and Rowed until about 3, our Cours about N W we Now Entered A Bay, of about one Mile wide, and Many Islands, our Cours about N E. we Proceed on with A Gentle Stream, in our favor until about 12 at Night; when we Put on Shore to Stop for the Remainder of the Night, but not allowed to land.

24th Set out at Break of day went before A Gentle Stream, but Increasing in Strength, until about 2 in the afternoon, when we arrived at Osneegauche, where we Stopped A Short time. here wee See Several of our Men, who had been Picked off, from us in times Passed. they were Dressed and Painted, after the Indian fashion. here is A Small fort. the Stream now is become Strong, after going about an Hower before it, and Passing many Islands, Come to where the Bay or River is Contracted much Narrower, and Passed Some falls, one of which was Considerable. boat went Ahead of the Main Body, and about Sunsett we Put on Shore to wait for the fleet to come up. they not appearing we Stopped all Night

25th about 8 oc clock this Morning, the fleet Come forward. we Put off and went before A Strong Stream. Soon found the River Contract Narrow between High land, on Each Side, and very Rapid falls, which we Passed all Safely through it was not without much danger. about 2 oc clock, we entered A lake, which we Judge to be about 10 miles wide & 40 Long. is Called as we are told, St. Peters Lake. A Strong Stream in this Lake, between the Islands, of which there is Many. by dark got through it, having had A Fair Wind and Good Breez.

August 26th. Set out at Sunriseing, and went before A Rapid Stream, until about 10 oclock, when we Came to A Falls, where we were all landed, and traviled about 5 Miles, the Boats going over the Falls of this distance Light; on this Carrying place is a Stockado Fort, and Church at the Foot of the Falls. we again Imbark, and Enter A Bay which we Judge to be 16 or 18 Miles, over. this Bay we Rowed. again A Strong Brees of wind, which Made Much Sea. at the Lower South Side of the River, it appeared walled in, and the walls & Houses White-

washed. it is called Cawnemagga; about A Mile below this, we were landed, on the North Shore; A falls beginning here which Continues down to Montreal, about 19 miles. we Marched by land down to the City. was Carryed before the Governour. it being dark was ordered to the Guard house, where we Continue for the Night, being Served Some Good White bread, we having been verry Badly Served for Provisions, Since we left the French Camp, on the Lake:

27 This Morning we are removed from the Guard house to an open Parade, in the back of the City: and A Guard Set over us: A Number more of our own men Come in. they Stopped last Night about 18 Miles from this, where was A Number of Indians who Killed & Scalp two men; we are Served Some verry mean bread & $\frac{1}{4}$ of A Pound of verry bad Pork A Man.

August 28 A Number more of our People Come, among which is Bayley, Swasey, and Dole, and Inform us they left Poor Chandler, in the Batto 9 Miles from here, he not being able to Stand or even to Set up, and fear we Shall never See him again: we had no Provision this day, only one Loaf of Bread, for 16 Men, and had one tent for 50 Men, which was all, the Shelter we had from the Weather:

29 More of our men Come in. they Inform us, they found Mr. Chandler in the Batto Dead. they Bureyed him: had no Provisions, but 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ french Buisquet, A Man, and that verry Mouldy.

30th. about Midnight Some of the French soldiers Come and enquired for the Women, and found one Sargent Nortens Wife; whom they attempted to Carry off, but She and her Husband Screamed Murder, on which they left. Just at this time, Jesse Worcester, being in the tent with A Number more Made A Struggle as though in A fit. we Immediately got A Light, but on the lightt Coming, which was but a few Minutes, found he was Dead; in the Morning we began Diging A Grave, but before we had half done it, was ordered to go on Board A Sloop, which was to Carry us to Quebeck; Some that were left A little longer in the Place, finished digging the Grave,

and Bury^d him; thus 2 of our towns men Are taken off in Quick Succession: May we be Prepared for the Next Call: one Hundred Seventy among Which was Coll Schuyler & Capt Skinner, was now on Board A Sloop of 40 tons: Bound for Quebeck, was Served A loaf of Bread, and one Pound of Pork, A Man, which is our allowance, to Carry us to Quebeck, and was on our Passage Until—

September 4th. about nine in the Morning, Arrived at Quebeck: here lay 2 Ships of 50 Guns, and Several other of Smaller fence, and A Number of Small Vessells. one of the 50 Gun Ships, had been launched only the Saturday before: another Large Ship on the Stocks, about half Built: we are soon Put on Shore and Marched to the N W Part of the City, and Put into A Grand long Stone Barrack of 3 Stories, divided into Convenient Rooms with Cabbins and Straw Beds, and in the 2 lower Stories fire Places. our lot was an Upper Story in which was no fire Place: were Served only Some Bread, which we Gredily Eat, having had nothing served us since the 31st. of August: here we found A Considerable number of our fellow Prisoners booth men and Women who had been Brought here before us who inform us they had been Served with Provisions Sufficient for Comfortable Support which was Great Satisfaction to us who was in Such an hungry State

Sunday September 5th. we are Served with Provisions for two days it being 2^{lb} of fresh Beef a man and two large loves of Good Bread for 3 men which was our allowance the whole time we Continued here and were well treated as Prisoners Especially by the Old Gentleman who was the Keeper of the Prison who Conducted toward us more like A Father than an Enemy. we were Confined to our several Rooms from Sunsett to between 8 & 9 oclock the Next Morning when we all let out into A large Yard until one than Confined about one hower then let out untill sunsett again we were generally Healthy while here Some fiew had Sickness which were Carry^d to the Hospital and on Recovery were returned to us nothing new took place until the 16th. when A number more of our fellow Prisoners arrived here on the 18th. A Severe thunder Storm

the Lightning Struck the Hospital two of our fellow Prisoners were much hurt but Recovered. on the 25th. A number more of our fellow Prisoners arrived

29th. about 300 of our Soldiers were drafted to Embark for England as we are told among which is Stepⁿ Hunt Johny Blake & John Platte our Towns men.

October 3rd. the Wind at N W the Ship Sailed with the Prisoners which had been drafted on the 29th. ult Some Persons Come and made Proposals to tak A Number out Provided they were willing to go to work in the Country 30 league distance 22 of our Soldiers Accepted the offer and went

October 4th the French Comesary Called on all the Prisoners to know if any Enter their Names to go to france Informing us that in case there was not 160 which would voluntarily go to that Number would be drafted. 75 Soldiers Entered their Names. the Remainder that were to be ordered to go were called out being Carpenters and Sailors in this draft all the Newbury Carpenters were Included Greatly to our Sorrow as we had flattered our selves we Should be sent to Boston.

Tuesday, October 5th. one hundred forty four were Called out to Embark for France (the Newbury men Included) on board A Ship of about 500 tons Called the Utard or wild, mounting 18 Nine Pounders & 8 Wooden Guns on going on Board were ordered into A Place Prepared for us in the lower hold A Platform being laid over the Water Cask about 4 feet under the lower deck A Midships and so Small that we had not room for us all to lydow Except lying Partly one on the other the Main hach way being Boarded in betwixt the Decks the Hatches being laid Except one Quarter which was Kept open to let down Air this Dreary Place was for our abode for the Passage though not Confined wholly to it for the Present

6th. Attempted to Weigh Anchor but Could not but Parted the Cable dropped down the River about half A Mile and anchored

7th. this Morning an officer & file of Men Come on

Board and took from us our Knives & Rasors leaving us Unprovided to divide the little Meat they allowed us only tearing it to Peices or Borrowing of the Ships Crew A Nife to Divide our Meat our Meat into ten Parts as 10 was the Number of which our Messes Consisted and as for our Beards they Must Grow untill we Can find means to get rid of them. At 2 A M hove up & Come to Sail the wind being about N W A good Brees and Proceeded down the River until about 9 oclock then anchored

October 8th Come to Sail Erly this Morning Wind N W and Proceeded down to the Isle Couder anchored under the Point of the Island to take in the Wood the land verry high on the N Side the River

9th the Ships Crew Employed in takeing in Wood

10th Wind Eastwardly and Cold A Schooner Came up the River was Brot too and Boarded by the Ships Boat

11th Wind Eastwardly & Cold another Schooner Came up

12th the Wind Eastwardly Come to Sail & Proceeded down the River untill Night then Anchored

13th in the after noon the (wind) got in Westerly Come to sail and Stood down the River untill Night then Anchored.

14th Come to Sail Continued our Cours down the River all day and the Succeeding Night and *15th* day until Night then Lay too the River verry Wide

16 2 A M Made Sail at 8 A M Made the Isl^d Anticoster A Brest of us to the Southward of us we being near the N Shore

17 Stood along all the Day and Night with a fresh Brees

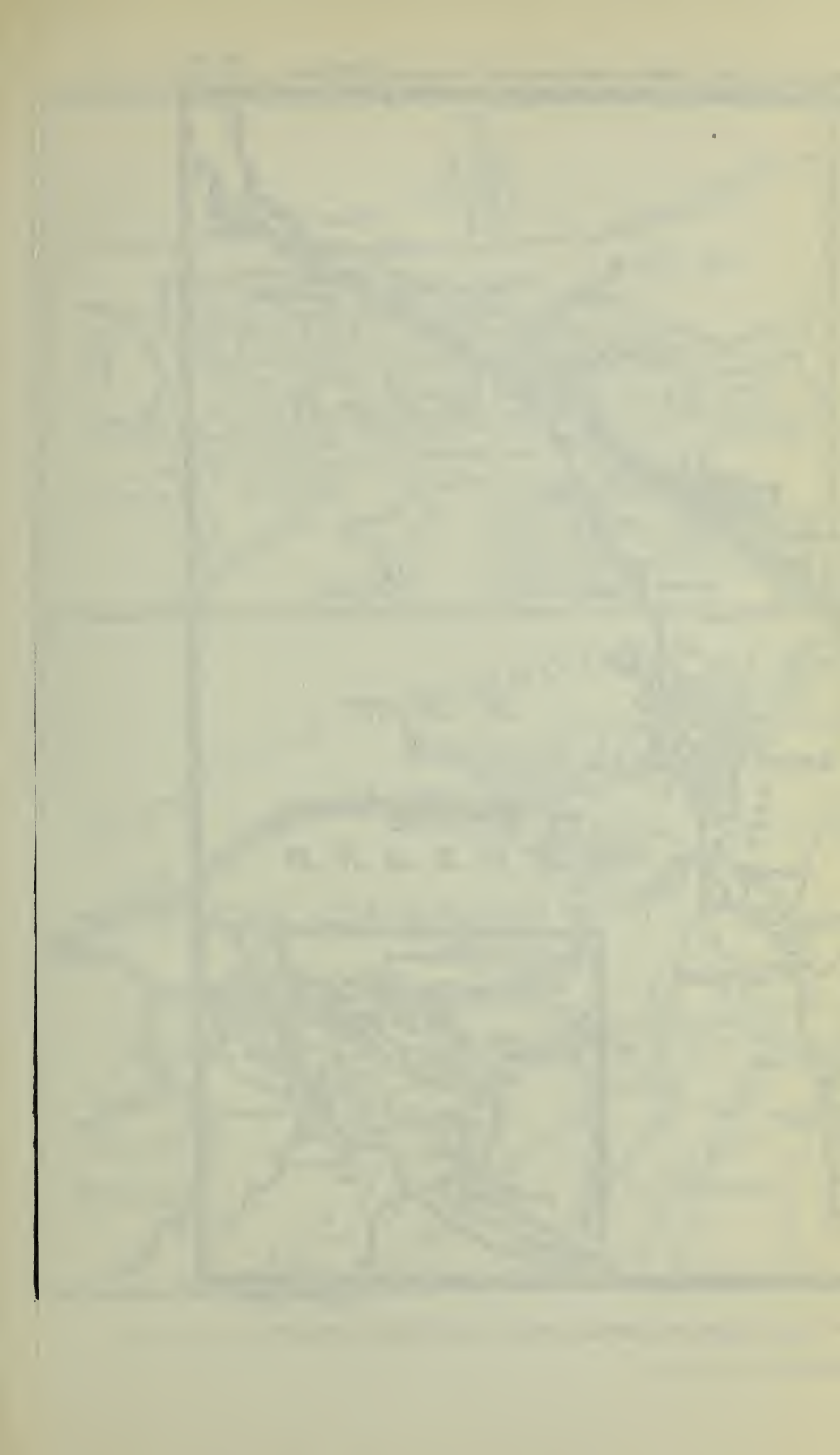
18th In A. M. the Wind Came to the Eastward looks like A Storm land near on Boath Sides they tel us we are in the Streights of Belisle In A M ran in between an Island and the North which Makes A Good harbour there anchored Saw A Number of fish flakes on the Island here we Continued until the *22* in the Morning Came to Sail with the Wind at N W fresh and Proceeded through the Streights and got Clear of the land (which we see on Boath Sides) Now we are Confined to our

dark and wretched hole below boath decks only allowed to Come on deck twice A day 3 Messes at A time to Receive our Poor and Scanty allowance of Provisions and each Party allowed to Stay about half an hower on deck then go down and another Party Come up Except for necessary occasions when two or three might be up at A time for A Short Space we have made our Situation below Something Better than at first as Some of us had two Blankets one of which was tied up at the ends and made a hammock off & hung to A spike in the Beams which would hang Just Clear of the Person who lay under it and by this the others had Room Sufficient to lay at full length but being so Many of us in so small A place the Air was verry Bad and warm Yet we were Generally healthy the whole voyage except 2 persons one of which was Eben^r Swasey but Neither of them bad, but the lice was not Scarce having no Place where we Could see them only Just in the hatch way and that Generally Crowded with Persons in waiting for their turn to git on deck to Relieve nature our Provision is Bread Sufficient but Much Mouldy and Many Worms in it four days in A week are Served Beef but verry Poor A Great Part of it is the Cattles heads and but little of that the other 3 days are Served Hors Beens Boiled with Some of the Slush (taken of the top of the Copper in which the Ships Company^s Meat is Boiled) put into them Nothing of Consequence took Place we Continued our voyage until the Morning of *October 29th.* being A heavy Gale of Wind Carry^d away our Main topmast and fore Mizen topgallon masts. A verry Bad sea which some times filled the Ships Waist which obliged them to lay the hatches and nail the tarpolin which Rendered our Situation verry disagreeable being in A Perfect Dungeon and the Ship labouring and Straining so that the Water leaked in on us verry Much and almost stifled for want of fresh Air and not being able to see what the danger was which we were in nor any Communication with any one on Board but our own benighted and Distressed Company and in this doleful Situation we Continued

October 30th in the morning when the Weather was

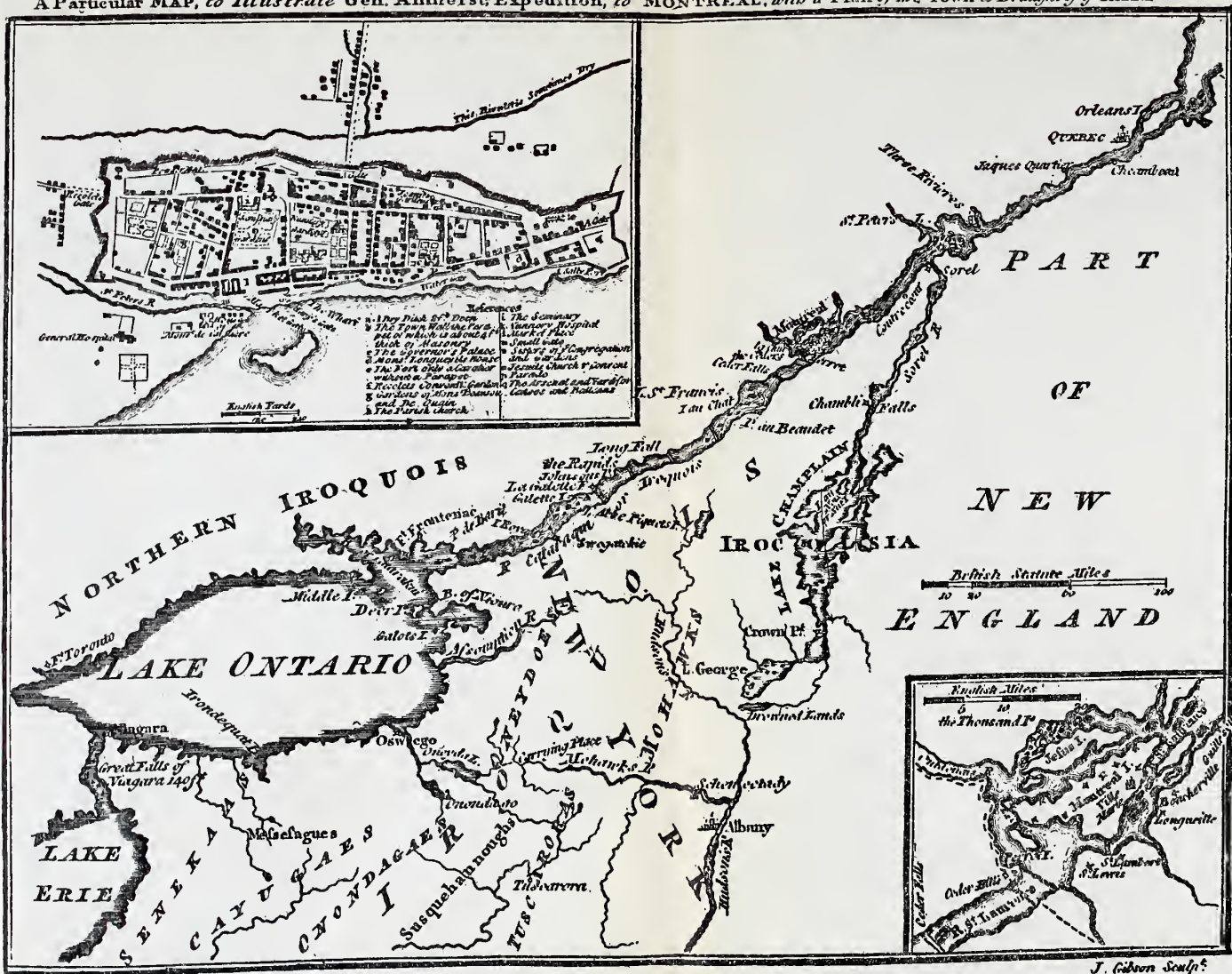
Something abated and the Hatches was opened and through the Goodness of God we again see the light of the day which through the Most of the Night had disappeared off but Expected this Place would have Entombed us in a watery Grave one of our Unhappy Companions A young Man belonging to New Jersey who had left at home A wife and one child was so overborn in his Mind with our danger that his reason gave way and he became delirious and would Suddenly Start at A heavy Surge of the Sea and Cry out the Ship was Sinking and our friends would never Know our unhappy fate this delirium increased on him the Remainder of the voyage and after we were landed lost his Reason totally and went raving distracted but thanks be to God our Deliverer we are yet Spared but at night the Hatches again laid on us the Wind blowing hard and the Sea Continuing and our then doleful Night is Much the Same Situation as the last A Dungeon for Darkness verry wett and almost Suffocated for want of fresh air, but thanks to Almighty God who has Preserved us through this distressing Night and the Hatches being opened we now behold the light of another day

October 31st the weather something Moderated, but the Sea Continuing at Night the Hatches again Laid and another woful night Succeeds in which forlorn Situation we were Supported though we Suffer even more this night for want of fresh air than we had on Either of the other as the wind had abated it did not force in as it had done before and as A Kind Providence had ordered the Boards of our Platform on which we lay was not Nailed and by takeing Some of them up we obtained air between the Water cask from the other Part of the Hold which Air at another time would have been very offensive Yet to us it was Sweet and refreshing and by this through the Goodness of God we were Preserved through the Night also and in the morning of *November 1* the hatches were again opened and we are Permitted some fresh Air which to us was like A rich Cordial and the weather much abated though the Ship Continus to lytoo which she did untill



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PLAN OF THE ROUTE TAKEN BY STEPHEN CROSS AND THE NEWBURYPORT SHIP CARPENTERS, FROM ALBANY TO QUEBEC, SAILING FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK AND UP THE HUDSON RIVER

November 3 at 9 A. M. they Made Sale and went on our Passage untill

November 7th the wind having been for some days and Continues to the Southward our allowance of Bread is Shortened nothing more of Consequence took Place untill

Nov^r 10th when they fell in with A Small Brigg bound from Malaga to Ireland laden with Wine and Oyl which they took and took her Crew on board and Maned her with their own Men.

Nov^r 12 another saill apears to windward Standing for us and on Coming Ner the frenchmen tell us she has A Tier of Guns which Gave us hopes that it might be an English Frigate which would Relieve us but on Meeting her which we did it Proved to be A Ship with A Spanish Register from Cadis Bound for London A Number of Englishmen and A Greater Number of Spaniards on Board and then the Ship Dismised and we disappointed of our hope of Relief nothing Remarkable only Sundry Saills seen from day to day, but None Come near us Neither did our Comander choos to Speak with them until

Nov^r 15 @ 2 P. M. discv^d the land which Prov^d to be about 10 leagues from Brest for which Place they Steered the Wind being fair and got Safe into that Harboue about 8 P M when our Guard was taken of the Hatchway and we alowed to Come on deck as we Chose which was A liberty we had long been deprived off a disagreeable passage we have had being Confined so many of us in so Small A Place and many of our Companions not the most agreeable. of the 140 which was Confined together in the hold 70 were Soldiers of Shirlies Regiment which had been Inlisted in some of the Southern Provinces of Scotch Irish and English and by their Manners and behaviour we Suppose were Convicts transported from their own Country and with these we had not the best Agreement and at first were together Promiscuously but we Soon Separated as much as the Situation would admit these Soldiers taking one Side of the Ship and the Carpenters and Sailors the other which were the other 70 and neither of these two Parties allowed to go

on the other Side on any Pretence the Passag up the Hatch way being Common for boath but even in this we had many Contests and Sometimes Came to blows and the Complaints to the French officers to have their Interference but in this we had the Advantage of the Soldiers as our Foreman Uncle Phillip Coombs Could Speak the French Language Perfectly well and none of the Soldiers Could as to our treatment from the officers and crew of the Ship we had not Much Reason to Complain all things Considered the Ships Crew being about 100 men and Boys we 170 in the hold and Some of our officers which lived among the French officers and allowed the Liberty of the Quarter deck at all times. if they had Given us more liberty their own as well as their lives would have been in Danger as we had in Contemplation to Rise Upon them if any favourable Opertunity should give any Chance of Success therefore we Could not Blame them for our Close Confinement and strict watch over us and as to our allowance of Provisions Suppose it was the orders to be as we had it only on our Passage our beens was for some time Short which we Complained to the Officers of and the next day on our allowance being Served the Liutenant or Second Captain as they called him, attended to its being Served and watched the Cook and Steward and ordered that in future we should not be Scanted as it before had been done and his orders were Complied with and we arrived all well Except two which as before observed were not well one of which was Carry^d to the Hospital and there Suppose he Died his Name was Henry—a team Driver at Oswego the other was Edward Swasey who Recovered to good health the young man before Mentioned to have been so much affrited in our danger in the Storm, went Raving Distracted and what became of him I Know not. this being the State of our affairs Until our Arrival in France

Tuesday November 16th 1756

Rainy Weather. we find our Selves in the Greater outer harbour of Brest where was Sixten Sail of Men of War and Some in the Iner harbour or Mole Repairing one of Which has hove down the Tonant of 100 Guns

17th fair Weather we are landed within the Mole on landing Saw two men Pass by Chained together which was the first time I ever Saw the like on Enquiry found it was A Punishment for some Crime which I then thought much better than to put Persons to death Except for Some very heinous Crime as the English do for Stealing. we are Marched through Part of the City and into the Castle where we found about 300 Prisoners which had been taken in vessells the Place of our Present habitation we now found to be A Yard about 80 feet wide Decending toward two Arches which went Under the Castle Battery about 200 feet from where we Entered this yard began these Arches Each about 20 feet wide and 25 feet High and 100 feet long the End of these Arches where we Entered by a dore through Gratein work made with Plank between which was all the light of those Arches, the farthest End terminating by A Stone Wall Under the Battery the top of those Arches being about 25 feet below the Platform or flore of the Battery. within those Arches we were Cloas Confined Every Night from the Dusk of the Evening Untill Sunrise and in the daytime the liberty of the Yard, at that End of which where we Entered was a Centinal Constantly Walking where he could see Every Movement in the Yard and to this Place Come men and women with Milk Butter Bread and other things to Sell to any one who had Money to Buy with. here we Separated our Selves from our Soldier Companions which we were heartily Sick and tired of we waited while they had Entered one of the Arches then we took Possession of the other and would not allow them to Come within our Doer Neither did we attempt to go into theirs there being no friendship betwixt us notwithstanding we were alike fellow Sufferers in this Yard we could see nothing but the Ground or Pavement Under us the Walls for the Sides and the firmament over us. this Day was Served Bread only as Provisions and Some Straw to lay Upon

November 18th this day Pleafant weather are Served our Provisions which is one pound & half of Bread and half A pound of fresh beef a man the Beef came Raw a large Copper and wood and water Brought in to Boil it

and one Man Constituted for Cook the Bread made Mostly if not all of Barly Meal and verry full of Grit which we Supposed was Sand put in by the Baker to mak it weigh heavy the Beef was of the Meanest Pieces Such as hocks Shins Shoulder pieces &c so that the Real meat Each man had was generally but verry little and Sometimes but A Mouthful or two and in a few days we that had no Money were so hungry that we could not Sleep without dreaming of victuals but alass on wakeing which was generally before day, found our Selves so hungry that the time Seemed long from Gunfiring Untill Sunriseing and the time to Receive our Bread and when we had gotten it divided to each man his Share he divided his Share into two or three Parts as he Chose Puting into his Bagg all which he Intended to Preserve to Eat with his Meet & Broth before he tasted any. other wise he could not leave of untill he had taken the whole or nearly as some did. We are now busily employed in Washing Shaveing and killing lice as we have had no opportunity of doing Either: for four Weeks now had Much of this work to do especially the last mentioned and thus we continued from day to day untill we had some Reduced our Stock

November 21st. Ninety five more added to our number who had been taken on their Returning from Newfoundland for England

on the *24th* 160 of the oldest Prisoners were Called and Informed that on friday viz 2 days from this they are to March into the Countrey 40 Leagues and to be allowed Eleven days to Perform this Journey. they are examined what Cloaths they are in want of

26th. Early this morning the 160 who are drafted to March are Called out by themselves and Served with Cloaths as they stood in Knead of and then Marched of

I being now Intirely destitute of Money and our provisions being short and hunger Pressing to find out some expediant for relief Could think of no other but to write to some Person in England for Money but who to write to or how to find A Passage for the leter was A difficulty which much Pussled my Mind. on the *1st. of December*

I wrote A Letter to mr. Witter Cumings who had a Partner in trade in Newbury viz Benjamin Harris for whom my Father had Built Many vessells and M^r Cumings haveing Personally Knowledge of most of us from Newbury I thought him the Most likely to help us to Some Money of any one I could think of but in what way the letter Could go I knew not but was detirmined to Make Every Enquierey within my Power that if Possible it Might go. this day we had five more Prisoners added to us, they having been taken in Prize to A Guernsey Privateer. one of these Men Deserted from this Place only 13 days ago the way he made his escape was as follows viz Standing up by the Railing near the Centinal with Pitcher in his hand waiting to find Some Person who would go and buy a Cider for him. number of French boat Men and Women Standing without the railing, while the Centinal was walking from them this man moved out among them and Stood among them for Some time and when the Centinal was again walking from them he went to go out of the gate it being open the Centinal Seeing him Just as he was going out Called to him and asked where he was going he turned about held up his pitcher and told him in French (he being a Gernseyman) that he was going for a Pitcher of Cider the Centinal thinking him to be A Frenchman let him Pass he went out and found a Dutch vessell outward Bound and got on Board her they Carry him to Sea. Met with a Guernsey put him on board they Carry him into Guernsey there he Shiped on board A Privateer Cam out took Several Prizes in one of which he was put on board the next day fel in with A French Privateer who took them and he this tenth day was Entered here again another of these Men had made his escape from Murlex Prison but five weeks ago.

Decem^r 3 A Boy fell from the wall into the Trench broke his thigh so high that it is thought it cannot be set and that he will die

December 5th was Inform^d by A young man Born in Bristol but resided here as A Clerk to A merchant that my letter might go to England Provided I gave it to the Come-sar and he would take the trouble to Read and put his

Seal upon it and put it in the Post office it would go to Osten and from thence to England but that I must be carefull to write no News or Make any Complaint that might be disliked by him, and that I must Pay one liver for the Postage of it to Osten this last article was A difficut Matter for me to Comply with as I had no Money and my messmates Most of them as Poor as my Self amongst them however I Procure about half the Money but this was all Untill I found that James Bayley had A Number of Crown Procured by the Sale of Jesse Worcester^s Cloath who died in Canada but I could not Prevail on him to let me have Enough to pay the Postage of my letter notwithstanding I told him I was in hopes of Sending this letter to git money not only to pay him, but what any of us might want. at length I prevailed on him to let me have A Crown on Condition that when we Come to England (which we then expected would be soon) I am to give him two for it which I engaged to do.

December 6th. I Sent my letter to the Comesary by the hand of the turnkey but I was fearful the money might tempt him to destroy the letter but having no other way I was under the necessity of Risking and he was faithful and delivered it. Seven Prisoners Brot in which had been taken out of A Swedish vessell they having taken from A wreck on the Rocks of Lille they having been wrecked there on their Passage from Scotland bound to Ireland

December 9th. made Complaint of being Scanted in our Bread on Examining it was found less than it ought to be haid it Rectified in future this day it was found that the Gates in A Sally Port which went through the Side wall in our Yard had no fastening the wall being abot ten or twelve feet thick had A Gate made of oak plank on the out Side on the inside the wall was another made Grateing wise they Boath being found loos thirteen Persons got in between these two Gates with A design to Make their Escape in the Night Part of them Jersey & Guernsey men two of which were the Men who had one from this place the other from Murlex before Mentioned made their Escape and had been taken again on our being Shet up at night no discovery of them was made

December 10th on being let out this morning find that our men who had hid themselves in the Sally Port were gone the Turnkey on Counting us out (as was the Practice every morning) miss them we are ordered into our den again without being Served any Provision the Comesary Comes and makes Search how they could escape at length find out these Gates to be loos they now secure them let us out and Serve us with Provision we hear Nothing of our men who Made their Escape Until

December 15, 1756 Wensday are told that Seven of our Men who had escaped were taken up and put into the dungeon. the Comesary informs us that the Oswego Prisoners are to March into the Countrey on friday next and are to go to Dinan 40 Leagues the officers of the Irish Brigg and those taken out of the Spanish Ship on our Passage had their Chests and all their Cloaths & Quadrants Sent to them though they had despaired of Ever seeing them because they were not allowed to take them with them when they Landed.

December 16th all the Quebeck Prisoners Drafted to March tomorrow for Dinan. one hundred & thirty of Coll Scuilers Regiment Arrived from Quebeck they tel us that the Carpenters we lef at Quebeck are Sent to England this made our lot Seem the harder though we are in hopes we Shall not be long in this Countrey as A Report Prevails that A Carteel is Setled.

17th are Called out for our March and after being Supplied with such articles of Cloathing as Necessity required we Set out being again Joyned to our Disagreeable Soldier Companions we Marched twelve Miles to A Town called Landeno had a disagreeable day being Put into A Stable wet as we were and Six Sous & $\frac{3}{4}$ Given us $\frac{1}{4}$ of A Souse Kept to pay for the Straw we had to lodge upon this being our allowance for the Whole Journey a day and the Inhabitants Brought Bread and other victuals Ready Cooked to Sell to us they that had no Money of their own nor Cloaths or Buckls or Button that they Could Spare were obliged to lie on what they Could Purchase with this Small Pittance and they that had any article which they Could Possibly do without Sold them for

what they Could git for them Some of our Soldier Party insted of buying victuals bought Brandy and were Soon so Drunk having eat nothing that they were more like mad men than any thing Els Soon began to fight with us and oneanother and so Continued the most of the night notwithstanding the french Soldiers who was A Guard over us Come in among us with fixed Bayonets and thretnd to Kill them if they were not Quiet this had no effect and the Guard left the Room and left us to our Selves but A disagreeable Night it was to be Confined in so Small A place with Such A Lott of Bedlemites nothing too Bad for them to do but by the hand of Providence we lived through the Night without any Murder being Committed which was more than we Expected but they Robbed Some of our Company of their Blankets and Sold them before their Eyes for Brandy.

December 18 Rainy Weather but we Continued our march Guarded by A Party of Soldiers with fixed Bayonets before behind and on Each Side two Waggons to Carry our little matter of Baggage being affraid to trust our things in the wagon with out Some one of us to watch them the French officers allowed one of us to Ride in the wagon and Set upon them Our Concern was all the day how we Should Spend the Night with our Disagreeable fellow Travelers the French officer informed us we Shall have two Rooms one below the other A Chamber and the Stairway outside we Requested him to open but one and that we would Stop Until the Soldiers had Entered and then to have the door Shut and the other Door Opened for us which he agree^d to do and Accordingly on our Arrival at the House he performed his Promis and although we were verry Wet having Marched Nine Miles in the Rain Yet we felt our Selves happy being Seperated from those Disagreeable Companions Could lay down and Rest in Quietness. This Town called Landewiz one of our Company by the Name of John Wall A Carpenter belonging to New Jersey is Missing & None Can Give any account what is become of him

December 19th fair Weather Marched twelve Miles to Murlex Put into the Prison two Rooms allot us but

A Communication with Each other the Soldiers took one and we the other but was Obliged to Keep A Guard between us and them and with difficulty Kept them out of our Room

December 20th Rainy Weather but we Continued our March being Joyned with about 40 More Prisoners out of this Prison Six of which were of the Party who Escaped from Brest Castle through the Sally Port they Inform us that on their opening the Gate on the Night of their Escape they found it opened onto the Flats the tide being Down about oc Clock they Dropped themselves on the Flats which they found to be A soft Mudd into which they went almost to their Crotch after wallowing out of this onto the dry land foun they were within the City Some of them being Guernsey and Some Jersey Men they Agreed that incase any one Met them or Spoke to them these Should answer as they Spoke Good French and the Others kep Silent and now lookout for Some way of Escape. they went through one Street after another Until they found themselves on the Key near the Mole where the City Guard Came upon them took them into Custody and Carryed them to the Guard house the Officer of the Guard Examined them who they were and how they Came out at such an Unreasonable time they told him they belonged to A vessell in the harbour Came ashore in their Boat and went into A Drinking house and had Stayed longer than they Intended that when the Guard found them they were looking for their boat which they feared had gone off and left them on this the officer ordered the Guard to Kick their Arses and Send them off teling them if they Ever found them Ashore again at Such an Unseasonable time they Should be put in the Dungeon and so Dismissed them they then Setout to find the Walls of the City which at last they did but it being high and a deep Ditch but it appeared not to have Much water in it they then with their Handkerchiefs Garters and Such other things they had Made A Rope as long as they Could and fastning it to A Stone one of them let himself down by it Until he Came to the End but found it did not Reach the Bottom but Could not git up again by

it was Necessitated to Drop which he did A Considerable distance and went into the Mud almost to his Middle this being so Soft he Receiv^d no hurt then the others Came down one after another until the last who on coming down about half way the Rope Slipped off the Stone there being none to Keep it on as was done before he fell but its being such soft Bottom was not much hurt they then wallowed about in this Mud to find some place to git out it being Walled on the other Side and they feared much that the Tide of flood would Come and fill the ditch with water and Drown them but at length they found some place where they got out Just before day then they Set out to go they Knew not whither but as day light Came on they found some Bushes in which they hid them Selves Untill the Next Night when they agreed to Separate into two Parties and go in Search of Some way of Escape this Party of Six wandered about by Night living on Raw turnips about twelve or 14 days and being almost Starved and finding no way of Escape Came to this Prison and now Joyned us for Dinan the other Party Consisting of seven wandered about by Night also for Some time but at length were discovered taken up and Put in the Dungeon at Brest whence they were Kept about A fortnight then put into the Castle with the other Prisoners thus ended their Enterprise we Marched about nine Miles to a small village Lodged in A Stable we are no longer under any fears of Disturbance from our Soldiery the forty Sailors who Joyned us at Murlex being good hearty fellows so Strengthens our Party that we now kep them in Better order they daring not to Shew any more of their Pranks openly

December 21st Rainy Weather we Marched about 12 miles to a Town Called Bellisle Some of us Sold Some articles we Could Spare & had the liberty of Lodging at A Tavern but it Cost us dear having to Pay A Soldier to attend and Guard us

December 22 fair weather Continued our March verry bad Roads traveled about twelve Miles to a Town called Ginggong some of us had the liberty of lodging at A Tavern our Expenses Considerably less than the night before though we had A Soldier to Pay as before the Rest lodged in A Stable as Usual

ENTITLED "UP TO ONTARIO"

December 23 fair Weather but very Bad traveling Marched about nine Miles Some of us have liberty of lodging at a Tavern it cost us dear the others as Usual in A Stable

December 24 fair weather the ground Something frozen Marched about twelve miles to A Town called Sambora Provisions brought to us in great Plenty Better and Cheaper than we have had the whole journey before about fifteen of us had liberty of Lodging at A Tavern had a Grand Supper of Good veal broth Boiled & Roast Such an one we had not had since we left Boston last March for this and our lodging we paid fifteen Sous a man for Cider $2\frac{1}{2}$ Sous & pot our fire & Centery Cost us dear.

December 25th fair Weather the Ground A little frozen Marched about nine Miles part of the way in Sight of the Sea and near us our Guard has been fifty french Soldiers Shifted, A New Guard Every other day and in General Used us very well hireing Waggons to Carry any that were lame or Unwell we Set out with two they now are Increased to twelve this Night are delivered over to A Guard of the Irish Brigades the officer of which was verry Severe with us not allowing any to lodge at A tavern. about 8 in the Evening he Came into the Stable and ordered us all to lay down and Swore that if any Man Raised his head from the Pavement his Brains Should be blown out Set a Centinal in the Room with us and Gave him this order we attempted to Expostulate with him but all to no Purpose he would not give us hearing after he was gone the Centinal informed us the Reason of this was because the last Draft that Came from Brest he was the officer of their Guard which Received them at this Place and in the Night seven of them Deserted three of which were Guernsey Men who took A Sloop lying in A Bay which we have seen today and got off Clear the other four after wondering about Untill they were Starved to A Surrender of themSelves and for this dissertion he had been arrested and tried by Court Martial he now being determined not to have the like take Place again and for this Reason Gave such orders But we

Suppose that in Private had Mitigated those orders as the Centinal did not Comply with them but Gave us as Much liberty to Sit Up or go out for Necessary occasions as we had before been indulged with.

December 26th. Cloudy Weather looks like Snow verry bad traveling Marched about twelve Miles to A small village we are lodged in two Separate Stables vituals Cheep

Monday December 27th looks like fowl Weather verry bad traveling Marched about twelve Miles and Arrived at Dinan Much fatigued with this Journey the Rainy Weather we have had and Marching our distance without any Stop or any Refreshment on the way except a drink of Cold water at A Brook when any Such fell in our way. at Night (for it took the Most of the day to perform our March Such Short days and bad traviling) put into A Stable wet as we were without any Means to dry us but the heat of our Bodies and then our allowance of Six Sous and three Quarters Given us to Purchase Such little maters of Provisions as this would obtain this being the Case except in the Instances before Mentioned of Some fiew who had a little money or Raised a little by Selling Such little matters as they Could do with out and at Some times A fiew obtained liberty of lodging at a tavern where they Could have A fire (though this was verry Expensive) and Dry themSelves and a good bed this being Great Relief to those who Could obtain this favour our tedious March is Performed and we are Arrived to A place where we Expect to Remain Untill A Carteel is Settled which we hope in God's Mercy may not be long and the hope of this Keeps up our Spirits here we find about four Hundred Prisoners which are Confined and A Number of Masters and Mates of vessels who on their Parole have the liberty of this Town we are Introduced into the Grand Castle this town is A Small Walled Town built on the brink of A Steep Presipace on the South East Side the Northwest Side much of A plain and so Enters the City by two Gates one on the West the other More Northerly two other Gates are on the North East the other on the Southerly Side without the walls is A Steep hill

and between those Gates the walls are Built on the Presi-
pace before Mentioned and about A Quarter of A mile
from the foot of the Steep Runs A Small River wihch
Runs about fifteen Miles and discharges it Self into the
Sea by St. Mallou this Town we Conclude by the Manner
of its fortifications was walled and fortifyed before the
Use of Cannon was found out in the line of wall are nine
Castles and by the appearance A Communication in the
Wall from one to the other but all these Castles are gone
to decay and the tops fallen in Except four one of Which
is Made the Common Prison for Debtors and Malefactors
one A Sort of Guard hous the other two for Prisoners of
War in the largest of these Called le Grand Shotto we
are lodged this was A Building in the line of the wall
of the two on the South westerly Side and where the
Ground falls about 25 feet Lower on the out Side the
wall than it is on the Inside so that the Ground in the
Street next the wall is about 25 feet higher than the
Ground on the out Side the Wall and level with this was
the lowest Habitable Room in this Castle and this was
the Dungeon having but a verry Small Place where any
light Could go in. in this Place they Put such Prisoners
as broke their parole or Committed any act for which they
meant to Punish them and Confinement in this place and
Shortning their Provisions was all the Punishment I ever
knew them inflict on Prisoners of War

Round this Castle on the side next the town was a Court
or Yard about 25 or 30 feet wide and this being about 20
or 25 feet below the ground in the City the Passage into
the Castle was by A Bridge over this Yard in this yard
was A well of about 25 feet deep but the water not good
Some of our Prisoners descended this well where they
found the water about A foot deep and found A Room
here as high as their heads which went Quite under the
Castle so that we Conclude the foundation of the Castle
to be as Low as the Bottom of this Place. out of this
Yard we Enter the Castle by Stone Steps opened about
ten or twelve feet we Come to the floor of what we Call
the lower Rooms here being three Rooms one of which be-
tween the other two was A Necessary this Room being

Small and dark an Entry by the Side of it leading into the other two Rooms which were large with two Windows in Each and A fire place. in one of these we were assigned our abode the whole Inhabitants of this about 70 or Eighty Some English Some Irish Some Scotch and Some Yankeys as we americans were Called and are Much Crowded for Room are Served Eleven pounds of Straw A Man to ly upon which was Renewed Every Eleven days being one pound A day this being Spread on the Stone floor was our Beds we lying in tiers heads and points and between Each tier A Small Path to go in between Each tier our Soldier Companions taking another Room which we were Glad of but it after Proved that we had A Number in our room with us not Much Better in the Entry way between these two rooms began. A Stairway of Stone in A Circular form which Assended to the Upper Story being four above ours each about 20 feet high and two Rooms on a floor an Entry between the two Rooms and a Nesssary the Uper Room was Arched and A Stair way leading out of this Uper Story out into A Gallery on the out Side the walls this Gallery was Made by the wal being about two feet and half thinner than the wall below which gave A Passage Quite round the Castle of two feet and half about ten feet below the top of the Castle and Even with this walk was large Stones in the floor of this walk which went out about two feet beyond the wall and were about Eighteen Inches Square and within Eighteen Inches of Each other and on the outer End of these Stones was A wall Breast high and between Each of these Stones on which this thin wall Rested were vacancies of about 18 inches which we Supposed were designed to Empty any filth in time A Siege being Covered from the Enemies Arrows by the wall with out and about one hundred feet from the Ground from this Galery A Stairway went inward and led you onto the top of the Castle it being nearly flat but Just Rounding enough to Make A decent for the water to Run off and here was a fine Place to walk for Exercise when the Air was not too Piercing which was often the case in Winter it being so high viz about one hundred and ten feet this Building was of an

evil form about Eighty feet the longer and Sixty the Shortest way and A fine Prospect of the town and Countery from the top we are Shut up and locked Every night at dark Each story Seperate and also from going on the top or into the Yard at twelve o'clock Every Night the Guard visits every Room & in the Morning all the Doors and we have free Communication with Each other and on to the top as well as down into the Yard our Allowance is four days in the Week one pound & half of Good Cours Bread and one pound of fresh Meat and Share of the Broth in which it is Boyled the other three days our Bread as Before mentioned and about Six Quarts of Boiled Beens or Peas Sometimes one and Sometimes the other but Mostly Beens and that Sort which in England are Called Hors Beens and Sixteen Ounces of Butter to Each Mes Consisting of Eight and one Sous, A man, Every day in Money this we are told is A donation formerly Given by the Widow of an Admiral of France who left his Estate to his wifes disposal having but one child and that A Daughter the Dwelling of this old lady being A Beautiful Seat in full view of our Castle. in hir Will She ordered one Sous A day be paid to Every Cloas Confined Prisoner in this town forever. about 1400 Prisoners Received this donation Every day as this was about the Number in March and April and also a piece of land about an Acre She Gave for A Burying Ground for Prisoners as the Popish Clergy allows none but Papists to be Buried in their Burying Ground, and in this field are the Bones of Many, the field being almost Dug over before we left this town. this Small Allowance in Money was of infinite Service (if I may be allowed such an Expression) as one Room of the Castle the first Entered when coming over the Bridge was Kep^d by an old lady and Called the Canteen Room in which She Kept all Sorts of Such things to Sell as we wanted to Buy Such as Bread of better Quallity than we were allowed, Butter Milk Sasages and many other Kinds of victuals and Brandy wine & Cyder Candes tobacco & c and A hole in the doer through which we had Communication to Buy Such things of her as we Chose and when we well and Could Save while we Come

to be Unwell and our Appetite Poor then this would furnish us with Some thing Better than our Common Allowmant and those who Used tobacco were Supplied by this Money and those who were Inclined to Gaming had Something to keep their trade Going

December 28th Cold Cloudy weather are Much Crowded Several of our Company Complain of being Unwell

December 30 Will^m Coombs so Sick he went to the Hospital by the reports of those who have been it Strikes a terror to us and Nothing but Absolute Necessity brings any willing to go there

Sunday January 2^d 1757 A Number of Coll Scuylers Newjersey Rigement arrive here from Brest and are lodged in the Little Castle the Master of a vessell Belonging to Nantucket Died in the Hospital

January 3^d Joseph Goodhue went to the Hospital verry Sick

4th Joseph Wormwell went to the Hospitall verry Sick A French Soldier Shot at the head of the Regiment in our view from the top of the Castle

7th Another Party of Prisoners arrive from Brest are lodged in the little Castle A Jersey Man Died at the Hospital

9th A Party of 125 Prisoners arrive here from Haver degrass Said to be Eighty Leagues William Coombs is so well as to Return from the Hospital Cold weather and Squalls of Snow

11th Another Party of Prisoners Arrive from Brest being all which was at that Place Except Some Sick in the Hospital

12th Moses Cross went to the Hospital Sick another Jersey man died there.

13th James Bayley went to the Hospital Sick two Men died there one A Jersey Man the other English

15th John Wyett went to the Hospital Sick

16th. three Died at the Hospital one of which being A Carpenter of our Party belonging to New Jersey by the Name of Pike

17th my Uncle Phillip Coombs Went to the Hospital

verry Sick two of Coll Scuyler Men Died At the Hospital
I am verry Unwell

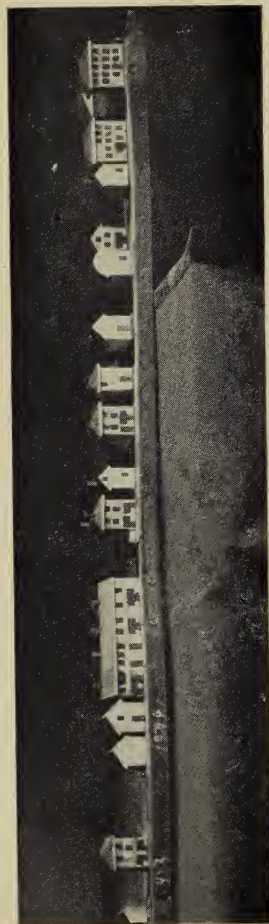
January 20th, 1757 my Uncle Robert Mitchell went
to the Hospital verry Sick I am verry unwell my Self.

22^d I am so Sick I am Nessiated to go to the Hospital
under verry Gloomy Aprehensions so Many Sick and
Many Dying from Day to day and my Gloomy thoughts
greatly Increased on Entering the Hospital as one of the
first things I observed was one of (the) tenderers turn the
Cloath off A Mans Face to Shew one of the Women who
were Overseers that he was Dead and Which I see was
My Uncle Coombs this was a Meloncolly Sight indeed
to me he being my Uncle our Foreman Could Speak Good
French A Godly Man and to Whoom I looked up to as A
Father for advise at all times but alas this Friend is gone
from A troublesome world and A disagreeable Situation
in it I make not the least dout to Joyn the Happy Com-
pany of Saints which Surrounds the throne of God & the
Lamb where all tears are Wiped from his Eyes forever
on Looking Round in this Hospital full of Sick and dying
was Melancolly indeed Paul Currier went into the Hos-
pital with me we are ordered into the Uper Ward which
was the third Story and this Added to our trouble as
the Room was not so Comfortable and the Persons attend-
ing in this ward are said to be very inhuman and not so
Carefull and tender of the Sick as those in the other two
Wards are Especially those in the lower one where one
Brown an Englishman was the head tender this Brown
having obtained liberty this Day to go to the Castle to
See Some of his Acquaintances and was in the Canteen
Room when I Came and I then Requested of him to git
me into his Room but he not having got Back to the
Hospital when we were destined to our Wards we are
Sent into the Uper one this Hospital is A Building of
about 80 or 90 feet long and Wide nough to have one Tier
of Beds on each Side of the Head toward the Wall and
the foot toward the Midle of the Room being Small
for one Person only and so far asunder as to be room to
go between and also a tier of Beds in the Midle of the
Room length ways, & large enough for two Persons and

an ally way Round them between foot of the Beds or the Sides and the Sides of the Beds in the Middle and A Fire place in it, and a Small Room Parted off at the farther End where were but few beds. in these Rooms tha Put Such as they Meant to favour Generally those who were Roman Catholicks three Stories alike in the form and Windows in the Sides opisit each other on our entering this uper ward A Bed was Assigned Paul Currier and mySelf but I felt so disagreeably I Could not think of undressing but walked backward and forwards the Room viewing and talking with the Sick with those who Could talk here I found my Relation and Particular friend and Messmate Moses Cross in A violent fever and Sensless his dangerous appearance added Still to my distress we had our Shirts Brought to us as was the Custom on A Person being Entered in the Hospital A Clean Shirt Given him before he went tobed the Beds were filled with Straw and Clean Sheets that is to Say had been washed but some lice and Plenty of Nitts booth in the Shirt and Sheets Paul Currier Immediately Shirted himSelf and got into Bed but I yet Could not Submit to do it although I felt mySelf Ready to Sink under my Sickness Discourgement and fatigue while I was Walking in this Situation A Mesenger Came in and enquired for the Man who Spoke to Brown in the Canteen Room I told him I was the Person he Said M^r Brown Sent him to Inform me that he would have me and one of my Acquaintances if I had any Come down into his Room as had got Beds for two this Rejoiced my heart as this Brown had the Carecter of being A verry Careful human man I went to the bed to Paul Currier and asked him to git up and go with me and he declined being as it appeared to me almost Stupified with his disorder boath of Body and Mind another man A Stranger to me Requested to go with me and we boath with Great Eagerness hastened down

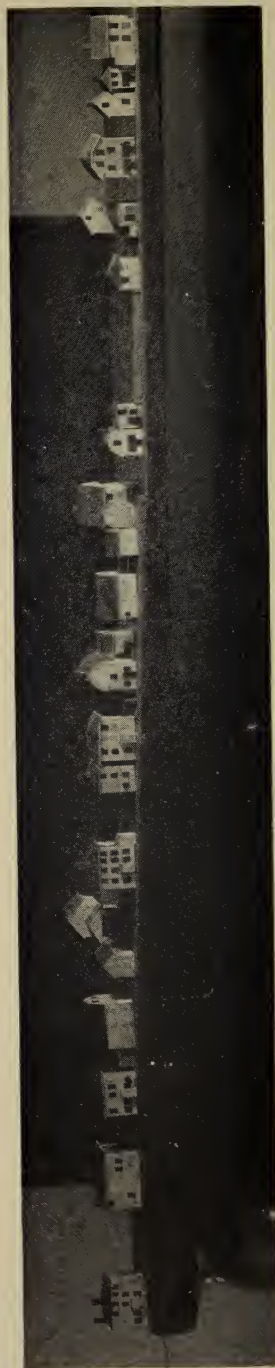
STEPHEN CROSS ESQR

Journal To Ontario Lake, 1756.



West

East



West

East

(Upper) THE FIRE OF 1830 STARTED AT THE WEST END OF THE STREET AND BURNED TO THE POINT MARKED EAST
(Lower) THE FIRE OF 1864 STARTED AT THE POINT MARKED WEST AND BURNED TO THE POINT MARKED EAST

THE GLOUCESTER MODEL.

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS.

From before the day of photography we have almost no records of how our town streets actually looked. In rare instances the written word describes them with meticulous care; as a rule, not. But, at best, the reader can form a none too vivid picture. At worst, no picture at all, or one so confused as to be worse than none. The only other way, with a single exception, to get a clear impression of the actual appearance of a street a hundred years ago is from drawings. These, however good, rarely depict more than one house, at most two or three. The single exception is a model to scale showing the entire length of a street, building by building. These are as rare as the proverbial hen's teeth. The Cape Ann Scientific, Literary and Historical Association has such a model on display in its museum. It will be a favor if any reader of this note who knows of similar models will tell me where they may be seen.

Early in the morning of the sixteenth of September, 1830, what has ever since been known as "the great fire" started at the west end of what is now Main and was then Front Street. It destroyed twenty dwelling houses, forty stores and many small buildings. I take these figures from the *Gloucester Telegraph* of September 18th, 1830. The fire made a clean sweep of everything along the south or harbor side of the street and, behind, to the Harbor Cove, or water's edge for a distance of two blocks, speaking in present-day parlance. It also destroyed nearly a block on the north side of the street. The fire stopped at what is now Porter Street. Thirty-four years later, 1864, another fire broke out at the very spot where the fire of 1830 ended, and consumed the rest of the street.

It cannot now be ascertained whether the Gloucester model was made just before or after September, 1830. It is the work of John James Saville, who cut it out of soft wood with a jack-knife. It is made to scale and shows meticulous regard for such facts as the placing and number of doors, windows and chimneys in every build-

ing, house or store, the entire length of the south side of the street; likewise to the precise location of each structure in true relation to its neighbors. A measured ground plan of the burnt areas of 1830 and 1864 could be little more accurate, or an elevation drawing of the entire street front. But neither of these, or any written account could be one-tenth part as convincing as the three-dimensional model with its accurately proportioned buildings on their true sites, and their equally exact roofs. Further, the slow rise of the street, its then grade, is shown from end to end.

The model consists of three sections, two long and a middle shorter one, in all about ten feet long. The buildings are painted white. The doors and windows are bits of black cambric glued on; the chimneys, brick. Time has faded the paint and some of the doors and windows have come off and been replaced; also, some of the chimneys. A few fences and trees are gone and cannot be put back with exactitude. To all intent and purpose, however, the whole thing remains today what it was when it came from the hand of the patiently truthful artisan who measured and whittled out the many parts and put them together so exquisitely. It is no more known why Saville did it than precisely when; whether from life, before the fire, or from more or less immediate memory afterwards, aided by ground plans and, possibly, by drawings. But whenever or however, the fact is that this model shows just what the characteristic, part-residence, part-business street of an active Essex County town looked like a century or more ago. It is in miniature, what men's eyes then saw and their feet trod gone now a hundred years. It tells plainly the story of the building changes that were made and followed one another in every coastwise town, great or small, country-side as well, between 1760 and 1820. A single building, though changed, shows the seventeenth century lean-to type of house. Nine gambrel-roof houses speak of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, some of which no doubt began their existence as lean-tos. Thirteen hip roofs over square, three-story houses bear witness to Federal days and fashions, some,

no doubt, having been changed over from their earlier gambrel form. And, of course, the pitch roof of early days, as well as present, is there in numbers.

The names of the owners and renters of the burnt area of 1830 include Gilbert, Low, Mansfield, Stevens, Smith, Dexter, Allen, Haskell, Pearce, Honers, Day, Lincoln, Parsons, Steele, Sawyer, Coffin, Dane, Hutchins, Stanwood, Prentiss, Cogswell, Babson, Ireland, Jones, Daniels, Davis, Bulkley, Staten, Browne, Stephenson and Roberts.

BILL FOR GOLD REPEATER.

Feb^y 25th 1789

M^r Joseph Grafton

D^r to W^m Wightman,—

Repairing a Gold repeater.....8 dollars.....£1.17.4

Rec^d payment for W^m Wightman

Tho^s Gibson —

SAMUEL BLYTH'S BILL TO E. H. DERBY.

1782

July	To Gilding Cupallo Ball	£4.16.0
	To painting & Gilding L Glass	18.0
	To Gilding Eagle	12.0
	To 2 Sett Venitian Blinds	7. 4.0
	To 8 Screws	1.4
	To painting 76 yds. in Necessary house	7. 4.0
	To painting 78 Do. in Cupallo	7.16.0
	To painting 16 yds. Canvis on Cupallo	3. 4.0
	To Stamping Carpets in Necessary house & Cupallo	3 .0.0
	To painting Stone hearth	0. 6.0
	To painting Chest & bellows	6.0

£35. 7.4

Receved y^e above

Sam^l Blyth.

SALEM REVOLUTIONARY PRIVATEERS CONDEMNED AT JAMAICA.

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS.

It has long been known that many of our privateers were captured in the West Indies and condemned there, but which ones, and the circumstances of their taking, have not been known, so many of our vessels have simply disappeared from the record without a trace. The interest of the late Sir George Denham, G. C. M. G., K. B. E., governor of Jamaica and his successor, Sir Arthur Frederick Richards, K. C. M. G., C. M. G., which interest has been made effective by the diligent and intelligent researches of Mr. Langton Haldane-Robertson, M. R. S. L., F. S. A. Scot., A. C. C. S., now Historical Archivist to the Island Record Office, is making available to students the material in the files of the vice-admiralty courts formerly existing in Jamaica and contributing information which helps to account for many privateers and other vessels. Mr. Haldane-Robertson has kindly supplied the writer with tabular abstracts of the depositions in connection with the capture of the following vessels identified as connected with Salem and the vicinity which were condemned at Jamaica. Some of these cannot be classed as privateers, but were simply peaceful merchantmen. They became lawful prizes nevertheless. It has seemed worth while to include them all.

SCHOONER *BENJAMIN*

The schooner *Benjamin*, Francis Boardman, master, and William Bartlett of Beverly, owner, of 64 tons and five men and two swivels, was turned over to H.M.S. *Atalanta*, Thomas Lloyd, commander, Sept. 16, 1776, off Cape Francois on a voyage from Beverly to Mole St. Nicolas and return on her outward trip. She was condemned as American property sailed under the colours of Massachusetts Bay on Oct. 21. Her cargo was boards, hoops, staves and shingles, spermaceti, wax and tallow candles and some fish, all from Beverly.

This vessel was seized by Archibald Duthie, a passenger, with the help of an old man and a boy who were members of the crew and handed over to H.M.S. *Atalanta*. Duthie had been master of a ship *Princess Royal*, which, on its way to London from Jamaica, had been seized by an American privateer, June 20, 1776, called the *Sturdy Beggar*, and taken for condemnation to Salem in New England. After great difficulty Duthie secured a passage on the *Benjamin* for Hispaniola and on the voyage seized the vessel, in revenge for the taking of his own ship. Duthie and his two associate mutineers were Englishmen.

SCHOONER (no name given)

This schooner, John Dutch, master, Ebenezer Pulsifer, mate, James and William Storey, Ebenezer Hobby, William Dennis, Thomas Hopkins, all of Ipswich, and John Dutch, owners of the vessel and cargo, a vessel of 60 or 70 tons with a crew of five men, was captured six leagues north of Cape Francois, Dec. 12, 1776 by H.M.S. *Boreas*, Charles Thompson, commander, during her outward passage from Ipswich to Martinique, which was altered because she fell off to leeward, to Môle St. Nicholas. The cargo was 16 casks of fish, 23,000 feet of boards, 1500 shingles, 12 barrels of salmon, 3 barrels of mackerel, 83 shook hogsheads, 1500 hoops, 1500 staves for hogsheads. The captain had a cedar desk as a private venture as well as a share of cargo and estimated loss at £200 Massachusetts Bay money. The mate had 3 shook hogsheads, a bundle of hoops, a hogshead and two quintals of fish and a dozen fowls, while each of the three mariners had a hogshead of fish. The captain said she sailed under English colors but the mate said under American. She was condemned Jan. 24, 1777 for trading with the American colonies.

SCHOONER *BETSEY*

The schooner *Betsey*, Jonathan Tucker, Master, owned by Robert Shillaber, Francis Cabot, John Tucker, Jonathan Tucker, and William Shillaber, of 70 tons and seven men, without armament, was captured March 15, 1777,

seventy-two leagues from Block Island, on a voyage from Salem to South or North Carolina, by H.M.S. *Unicorn*, John Ford, commander, for trading with rebellious colonies. She was apparently not condemned until March 31, 1778, after considerable delay. The crew had been sent by cartel to Newport, Rhode Island, where they had been exchanged for a like number of British seamen held prisoners there.

SCHOONER *MARIANA*

The schooner *Mariana*, Mark Towell, master, James Hunter of Fredericksburg, Va., owner, of 30 tons, five men and two swivels, was captured May 11, 1777, fifty leagues from Block Island by H.M.S. *Unicorn*, John Ford, commander, on a voyage from Boston to the Rappahanock. Though her papers were all signed by officers of Port Rappahanock there was no register and some of the clearance papers said she was registered in Salem and she was bound back to Salem. She was not condemned as American property until March 31, 1778. Her crew had been sent to Newport and exchanged.

BRIG *HAZARD*

The brig *Hazard*, Marc Fauvett, master, of 130 tons and nine men, without armament, was captured by H.M.S. *Aeolus*, Christopher Atkins, commander, March 11, 1778, twelve leagues from Hispaniola during her passage from Cayenne to Port-au-Prince.

The captain was born in Bayonne and was a resident of Nantes, and the owner of vessel and cargo was stated to be Monsieur Franconnie of Cayenne. He took possession of the vessel at Salem, sent her to Newbury in ballast where she took on a cargo of fish, barrel staves, etc., and sailed to Cayenne. She had a crew of seven French, two Neapolitans and one Portuguese. She was condemned April 30, 1778 on the ground that she was merely an American vessel sailed under French colors.

Other pertinent facts were that the vessel was formerly called *Rising Sun*. Had been seized as Prize by a British Vessel of War, she then being (with her cargo) North American property. About two or three days afterwards,

was re-taken by an American privateer and carried to Salem, where she was sold. There the present master claimed to have purchased her for Franconnie but was unable to name the seller. Had never been taken into any port by British captors.

Master of Prize stated he "apprehended the reason that the said Brig was made prize of war on account that Captain Atkins conceived the cargo on board her to have come from North America."

Also stated he "verily believed" the cargo to be of the "growth, produce and manufacture" of New England, and that it had been taken on board from the shore at Newbury.

SCHOONER *LARK*

The schooner *Lark*, Ezra Ober, of Beverly, master, James Lovitt, John Lovitt, Francis Corbett (? Cabot) and Philip Higginson, owners of 65 tons, six men and two swivels was captured March 21, 1778, off Cape Francois, by H.M. sloop *Hornet*, Robert Haswell, commander, on a voyage from Beverly to Charleston, S. C., and thence to Guadeloupe, but was diverted by current to Cape Francois and was captured without resistance before reaching there. Her cargo was 160 casks of rice, 50 shaken hogsheads, 2000 hoops and 4000 staves. She had two passengers, Jews from Charleston. The private adventures were: Master, 10 casks of rice and one small cask of indigo; mate, 5 casks of rice; seamen, 3 casks of rice each; passengers, 16 "hundred weight" of indigo. The mate claimed to have lost in wages and private venture £300. Crew were all Americans shipped at Beverly. She was condemned April 23, as American property sailing under American colors.

SCHOONER *BOB AND JOAN*

The schooner *Bob and Joan*, Littlefield Sibley, master, William Buffington, William Orne and Benjamin Goodhue, owners, of 90 ton, six men and no armament, was captured Dec. 10, 1778, windward of Cape Francois by the privateer *Gayton*, William Chambers, master, owned

by Hercules Ross of Kingston, on a voyage from Salem to Piscataqua to Cape Francois and return. She was on her outward voyage with a cargo of staves, hoops, planks and shaken hogsheads from Piscataqua and shaken hogsheads from Salem. Thomas Bane, one of the foremastman, and another seaman had a private venture of 3 or 4 quintals of salt cod fish. Bane estimated his loss of wages and private venture at about \$30. The vessell had previously been an English vessell captured by an American privateer and was very leaky and in need of repair. The cargo was condemned Jan. 13, 1779, as American property but the vessel herself was decreed for payment of salvage as recaptured English property.

BRIG *CAESAR*

The brig *Caesar*, Ephraim Emerton, master, Paul Dudley Sargent, Joshua Ward, Jr., William Orne and Joseph Moses, owners of vessel and cargo, 90 tons, thirteen men, four carriage guns, captured, April 20, 1779, off Cape Rosa without resistance by the Letter of Marque Ship, *Golden Grove*, Cuthbert Watson, master, on her return voyage from Salem to Port-au-Prince and back.

The owners were all of Salem and the crew consisted of 11 Americans and 2 Englishmen, all shipped at Salem. The vessel did not have a commission, although carrying armament.

Vessel was a new vessel, believed built in Connecticut, and master had heard that she had twice before been taken as a prize but would not say at what time or whether she had been condemned. She was in no want of repair and was sold to the present owners by Cabot and Co. of Beverly for £2700 Boston currency. A parcel of letters was thrown overboard by the master.

The cargo consisted of 35 barrels of salmon and her-ring, 40,000 feet of lumber, 150 shaken hogsheads, 100 bundles of hoops, 50 hogsheads of codfish, all from Salem, and 80 hogsheads of molasses and 53 hogsheads of sugar from Port-au-Prince.

There were also private adventures: Master, 2 hogsheads of sugar and 9 of molasses; 2 mates and cooper, 4 hogsheads of molasses each; boatswain, 3 hogsheads of

molasses; foremastmen, 1 hogshead of molasses each. No part of vessel or cargo was insured. She was condemned June 1 as American property.

THE SNOW *RIVAL*

The letter-of-marque snow *Rival*, Samuel Massey West, master, George and Joshua Dodge, owners, of 120 tons, eleven men, 4 guns, 4 wooden guns and six swivels was captured five leagues from Aux Cayes, August 8, 1780, by the letter-of-marque sloop *Active*, Robert Hamilton, commander, during her outward voyage from Salem to Aux Cayes and return. The cargo was boards, staves, shingles, hoops and herrings taken on board at Piscataqua, though the voyage began at Salem about five weeks before she was captured. The vessel had been British property, captured by a North American privateer and condemned at Salem. The cargo was condemned, Sept. 7, as American property but the vessel was decreed as salvage as recaptured English property. The condition of the papers in this case is very bad. Cargo was owned by owners of the vessel.

THE BRIG *ST. JOHN'S PACKET*

The brig *St. John's Packet*, Cornelius Dunham, master, John Buffington, Nathaniel Silsbee, David Felt, John Beckitt and Paul Dudley Sargent, owners, 100 tons, eight men, 2 swivels, was captured April 11, 1781, off Heneage, Windward Passage, by H.M.S. *Pomona*, Charles Edmund Nugent, commander, on a voyage from Salem to Port-au-Prince and back, with hoops from Salem and 101 hogsheads of molasses from Port-au-Prince. She was charged with trading with rebellious colonies. It does not appear whether or not she was condemned as the papers in this case are in poor condition.

THE SNOW *DIANA*

The letter-of-marque snow *Diana*, Benjamin Beckford, master, William Herrick, John Lovitt, Benjamin Lovitt, Larkin Thorndike, owners, 16 or 17 men, 6 carriage guns, 2 carronades, etc., captured June 17, 1781, without resistance, 14 leagues to Windward of Hispaniola by H.M.S. *Pelican*, Cuthbert Collingwood, commander, and *Licorne*,

Hon. Thomas Cadogan, commander, and *DuGuay Trouin*, John Fish, commander, H. M. vessels of war, on the outward passage of a voyage from Beverly to Cape Francois and back. She had a cargo of fish oil, staves and empty hogsheads for sale at Cape Francois for purchase of a cargo of molasses. She was previously British property captured by the American privateer *Pilgrim* and condemned at Salem. She was charged with being American property, but it does not appear whether she was condemned as the papers are mutilated.

THE BRIG *RANGER*

The letter-of-marque brig *Ranger*, Samuel Babson, master, Samuel Babson, John Somes and James Hayes, owners, all of Cape Ann, 18 men, 6 carriage guns, small arms, powder and ball captured June 18, 1781, in sight of the east end of Hispaniola by H.M.S. *Pelican*, Cuthbert Collingwood, commander, without resistance on the outward voyage from Cape Ann to Cape Francois. Commissioned by Congress at Philadelphia, she was bound for Cape Francois with wine, oil, fish and lumber to be exchanged for sugar and molasses. The owners owned both ship and cargo and she was armed with intent to capture vessels belonging to the English. Charged with being American property, but papers thus far found do not show whether condemned or not.

THE SHIP *HERSY*

The ship *Hersy* (sic), Benjamin Crowninshield, master, Mr. Derby of Salem, owner, 130 tons, 25 men, 10 guns and 6 swivels, captured, August 12, 1781, by H.M.S. *Pomona*, Charles Edmund Nugent, commander, in sight of Heneage without resistance on the return voyage of a trip to Port-au-Prince and return. She had brought salt fish and lumber from Salem and was now carrying from Port-au-Prince 20 hogsheads of sugar, 15 bales of cotton, 50 hogsheads of molasses and 1000 lbs. of cocoa. She carried one passenger, H. De La Mothe, going from Port-au-Prince to Boston on his private concerns. She was

condemned Sept. 18 as American property. She had no commission though armed.

THE BRIGANTINE *DISPATCH*

The brigantine *Dispatch*, Nathaniel Macy, master, 100 tons, 8 men, 2 guns, Benjamin Goodhue, William Shilliber, John Tucker, Jerathmiel Pierce, Aaron Waits and Jonathan Tucker, owners, was captured Sept. 20, 1781, by the letter-of-marque ship *Emperor*, William Wilson, master, and the letter-of-marque ship *Telemachus*, William Sherwood, master, during the outward voyage of a trip to Cape Francois and return. She carried 65,000 feet of boards, planks and joists, 16,000 hoops, 24 quintals of fish and 324 shook hogsheads. She was condemned, Nov. 15, as American property registered in Salem.

THE SHIP *ADVENTURE*

The ship *Adventure*, William Worth, master, William Gray of Salem, owner, 150 tons, 16 men, 6 carriage guns, etc., captured by H.M.S. *Alarm*, Charles Cotton, commander, June 1, 1782, in sight of the north side of Hispaniola without resistance when on a passage from Curacoa to Aux Cayes. She was on a voyage from Salem to Virginia, to Martinique, to La Guaira to Curacoa to Aux Cayes, to Salem. She carried 6000 gallons of rum to Virginia and flour, thence to Martinique and Curacoa. Condemned July 9 as American property.

THE SCHOONER *EAGLE*

The schooner *Eagle*, Amos Hilton, master, Samuel and William Gray, owners, nine men, 85 tons, 2 guns, etc., was captured Oct. 29, 1782, by H. M. S. *Fox*, George Stoney, commander, and H.M.S. *Torbay*, *Zebra*, *Badger* and *Duc d'Estisac* without resistance in Mona Passage during her return voyage from St. Martin's. She had carried lumber from Salem to Guadeloupe, from Guadeloupe to Montserrat nil, from Montserrat 73 hogsheads of rum, from St. Martin's salt. She was originally an American vessel taken by the British to Penobscot, retaken later by the American privateer *Grand Turk* and carried to Salem. Her cargo was condemned as American prop-

erty, Dec. 16, but the vessel was decreed as recaptured English property for payment of salvage.

THE BRIG *YOUNG RICHARD*

The letter-of-marque brig *Young Richard*, William Ropes, master, Elias Haskett Derby, owner, 120 tons, 16 men and 10 carriage guns was captured Nov. 8, 1782, without resistance, in Mona Passage by H.M.S. sloop, *Pigmy*, Mitchell, commander, and H.M.S. *Success*, Pole, commander, during the return passage of a voyage to Aux Cayes and return to Salem. Her cargo from Salem was fish and lumber. John Lee, chief mate, made the statements: This brigantine was taken from the English by the American rebel frigate *Diana* upwards of two years ago and carried into Boston where she was condemned. She had been furnished with new masts and her present 10 carriage guns by the present owner. Her cargo was condemned, Dec. 16, as American property, but the vessel was adjudicated for salvage as recaptured English property with proper adjustment for new equipment.

THE SLOOP *RAVEN*

The sloop *Raven*, William Fairfield, master, Nathaniel Silsbee and John Collins, owners, all of Salem, 70 tons, 3 persons on board, all the rest including the captain having escaped, was captured Jan. 9, 1783 in the Bight of Leogane by H.M.S. *Childers*, David Mackaye, commander, and H.M.S. *Port Royal*, George Hart, commander. She was on a voyage from Salem to Mole St. Nicolas, thence to Port-au-Prince, thence to Gonaives and thence to Salem. Captured while getting under weigh from Gonaives. Captain took the papers with him. John Crowninshield, chief mate, made the statement. Her cargo from Salem was lumber sold at Mole St. Nicolas and she was taking salt from Gonaives. The vessel was previously British property captured by the American privateer *Experiment* and condemned at Salem. The cargo, new anchor, cable, jibb and jibb boom were condemned as American property and trading with the rebellious colonies Feb. 24 and the vessel for salvage.

It will be noted that while some of these vessels were fairly well armed and classed as letters-of-marque, they all had small crews and were not manned to fight as were the privateers. Moreover, practically all were captured by regular ships of the British navy and in the case of the few exceptions the odds seem to have been heavily in favor of the captors. The American privateers always believed in the principle that there was no use fighting and getting killed if you had not a chance.

These notes also give valuable data about voyages, cargoes, crews and armaments of the times, as well as records of commanders and owners.

SALEM WRITING TEACHER.

The Town of Salem, To Edward Lang D ^r	
For keeping the East Writing School one Quar- }	£24
ter, Ending the 30 th June, 1791, . . . }	
For Ink, supplied the School . . . . .	.12
	<hr/>
	£24.12

Recieved Payment, by an Order on
Benjamin Pickman Esq. Treasurer.
Edward Lang

MARBLEHEAD FISHERMEN WARNED IN 1812.

Received from Nath. Lander's office at Salem for expenses of the boat *Republican* to the Grand Banks to inform the fishermen of a war between the U. States & Great Britten twenty two Doll. 37/100 being a proportion of 400 dolls

E. Bray,
Chairman of Com^{tt}

Marblehead, Sept. 4th 1812

—*Essex Institute Ship Papers*, vol. III.

DESCENDANTS OF RICHARD JACOB OF IPSWICH.

BY WALTER GOODWIN DAVIS.

1. Richard Jacob came to New England in the ship *Mary and John*, which, the "last of February", 1633/4, was lying in the Thames with nine others, about to embark passengers for America, when Orders in Council were issued regulating the conduct of the passengers on the voyage and requiring them to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy before departure. The *Mary and John* seems to have proceeded to Southampton and taken on board a large number of emigrants who, according to the records of that port, took the required oaths on the twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth of March. Southampton is a port convenient for travellers from Wiltshire and Hampshire and some of the passengers are identified as natives of these counties. There were Jacob families in Wiltshire, but thus far no place has been found in them for our emigrant.

Jacob took oath as freeman May 6, 1635, and is first mentioned in the records of Ipswich, where he settled, in that year. He was married by 1638 to Martha Appleton. They did not occupy the house lot in the village which had been granted to him — an acre and a half and eight rods having a house lot of Robert Mussey's on the north-west, the highway to the common on the south and south-east and butting upon the mill street on the north-west — but took up a farm, originally owned by John Winthrop, jr., but regranted by the town to Jacob on August 20, 1638, consisting of forty acres on the further side of Mile brook. Over Mile river he built a bridge and in 1658 a town order was passed "that George Giddings and Edward Bragg are appoynted to lay out a highway through Mr. Saltingstall's 40 acres and a part of John Andrews his farm to the Bridge over the River to Richard Jacob's House a rod and a half wide." In order to obtain full control of the bridge and its approaches, Jacobs bought from Andrews an acre of the latter's land. ("*Candlewood*", by T. F. Waters, *Ipswich Historical Society's Pro-*

ceedings XVI: 41.) After his death, his son Nathaniel had much trouble and many law-suits with the Fellows family who had bought the Andrews farm and who went so far as to chop down the bridge and plow a ditch through the Jacobs' road, but Nathaniel eventually proved his good title. (*Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, VII, by index.*)

In 1661 Sergt. Jacob sued William Averill for failing to complete a new house at the farm, the contract having been made in 1659. From the evidence it appears that the old house, with new sills, was to be moved and the new frame raised on its site. Averill was to erect a building eighteen feet square and thirteen feet stud, to provide clapboards and shingles and lay them, to lay three floors with joist and board, to make two "stole" windows of five lights apiece and two clerestory windows of four lights apiece, also a garret window. Partitions and doors were "to close the rooms complete." He was also to make "a table and frame of 12 or 14 foot Long and a joyned forme of 4 foot long and a binch behind the table." (*Records and Files, II: 266.*)

He was an Ipswich commoner in 1641 and by 1654 a sergeant in the town's train-band. He was a member of the building committee for the first bridge built for carts over the Ipswich river in 1646/7. In the county court he served a trial juror in 1641, 1651, 1653, 1662 and 1663, and as grand juror in 1649, 1654, 1656 and 1658. In 1664, as one of the twenty-seven wealthiest men in the town, he received two shares on Plum island, which was apparently divided by the local authorities on the principle that to him that hath shall be given.

Martha (Appleton) Jacob died September 8, 1659, and he took as his second wife Joan Hale, widow of Robert Hale of Charlestown, who survived him and returned to Charlestown, where she died November 28, 1681.

Richard Jacob made his will September 6, 1672, and it was proved on the following October 5. To his wife Joanna he left what he had agreed and engaged by a writing under his hand dated May 3, 1669. To his son Thomas, his eldest son living, all land on the west side

of the road to Boston, twelve acres of meadow below "ye Sluce of my farm adjoyning," the upland within the standing fence and six or eight acres of meadow bought from Henry Kimball adjoining Mr. Saltonstall's farm, all of which was in Thomas's possession. Thomas was to pay his step-mother 50s. yearly and £50 to his sister Martha within one year of her father's death, if she were married, but, if not, 8d. per pound until her marriage or until she became twenty-eight years of age, when she could demand the £50. Thomas was to have a right of way to the twelve acres of meadow, £25 worth of stock which had been delivered to him when he entered upon his farm and thirteen bushels of apples from his father's farm for seven years. To son John, £100. To son Nathaniel, one half of the farm near Topsfield, being the half next to Isaac Cumming's farm, he to pay his step-mother 30s. yearly and £60 to his sister Judith on terms identical with Thomas's obligation to Martha. To son Joseph, the half of the Topsfield farm near Goodman How, he to pay his step-mother 20s. yearly and £40 to the executor, when he came of age. To daughter Martha, £50 in addition to that paid by Thomas and on the same conditions, a considerable part to be paid in household stuff, a feather bed with furnishings to be a part. To daughter Judith, a similar legacy of £40. To grandchild Lydia Jacob, £100 within one year of her marriage or when she should come of age. If either of the two youngest sons should die before they were of age to receive their portions, they were to be equally divided among their surviving brothers and sisters. For his daughter-in-law, widow of his son Samuel, he made careful provision: she was to live in half of the house she then occupied ("The Parler, & Chamber, & Garrett over them with the little parler & seller under it"), to have the benefit of the adjoining orchard and the easterly bay of the barn and the leanto, six acres of tillage land, half in one field and half in another, liberty to cut eight loads of hay yearly, to keep one horse, four cows, ten sheep and twelve swine; if she married, the executor was to pay her £6 *per annum* until her child married or came of age, and thereafter £3 *per annum*,

but she was to deliver up to the executor all of the land and stock heretofore provided for her; in return for an acquittance from all claims that might be made by her or through her and his late son, she in turn was to be acquitted of all claims which the testator might have against them for debts and rents. Residue to son Richard, executor, and the farm lately improved by his son Samuel and the rest of the testator's lands bound over for the payment of legacies. Overseers: loving brothers Capt. John Appleton and Lieut. Samuel Appleton, good friend Mr. Richard Hubbard. Witnesses: John Appleton, Samuel Appleton, William Goodhue. John Whipple, sr., and John Burnham, sr., took the inventory October 4, 1672. The two farms at Mile brook were worth £550 and the two at Topsfield £300. There was furniture, household linen, clothing and farm stock in substantial quantity, but few articles of luxury — no silver and no books. The total came to £1,120, a large estate. (*Probate Records of Essex County, II: 291-6.*)

Children:

- i. Samuel, b. about 1639; about 22 in 1661 when he testified in Averill's suit against his father; m. Ann —, who m. secondly Rev. Joshua Moody, Harvard 1653, of Portsmouth and Boston, by whom she had four children, one being Maj. Samuel Moody of Portland. Shortly before his death he was one of a riotous party at Quartermaster Perkins' tavern in Ipswich on the evening of training day, shooting pistols and creating general disturbance (court, April, 1672). He d. June 16, 1672, in Newbury. Administration was granted to his widow, Ann Jacob, Sept. 24, 1672. It was ordered that the only child should have £100 when of age and that the widow should enjoy the rest of the estate, but, if she married, should provide security for the child's portion. The inventory listed no land but extensive standing crops and the contents of a large house (it would seem that he lived and farmed on his father's land), including many articles of luxury, books, silver, arms and an extensive wardrobe, the total being £356.

Child:

1. *Lydia*; unmarried in 1697 when her step-father, in his will, stated that he had kept her many years.

(In Short's sexton record, included in the published *Vital Records of Newbury*, appears "Jacobs —, wid. Moody, bur. — 1803." For either mother or daughter, the date is impossible.)

- ii. Thomas, b. about 1641; he was 20 in 1661 when he testified in the Averill case, and about 39 in 1679; m. Dec. 21, 1671, Sarah Browne who d. Jan. 29, 1679; m., secondly, Mary — who pre-deceased him. He was made freeman Mar. 30, 1675; served as grand juror, 1677, 1681; voter in town affairs and tythingman in 1679; ensign of Capt. Daniel Eppes' company in 1683; in Jan. 1692/3 he was on the jury at Salem which tried the last witchcraft cases, three victims being convicted out of thirty indicted; subscribed toward a new and bigger bell for the Ipswich meeting-house in 1699 and was seated "at the Table" in the meeting-house in 1700.

He made his will Dec. 3, 1706. To daughter Mary Tilton and son-in-law Abraham Tilton, 20 acres of land. To daughter Sarah Jacob, £65. To daughter Mercy Jacob, £65. To son-in-law Thomas Brown, 15 acres of land. Residue to daughters Abigail and Martha, who were to be executrices. (*Essex Probate*, 309: 177.)

Children, by first wife, born in Ipswich:

1. *Mary*, b. Nov. 7, 1672; m. Dec. 11, 1693, Abraham Tilton.
 2. *Sarah*, b. Sept. 26, 1674; m. Dec. 13, 1713, Moses Chase. By second wife:
 3. *Abigail*, b. April 16, 1682; m. 1704 Thomas Brown.
 4. *Martha*, b. April 17, 1684; m., int. 21:2:1707/8, Samuel Brown.
 5. *Mercy*, b. May 11, 1686; m., int. 6:2:1713, John Fowler.
- iii. Richard; m. Jan. 15, 1673, Mary Whipple who d. Jan. 27, 1674. During King Phillip's war he was active as lieutenant in the company of Capt. Brocklebank who was slain in battle at Sudbury April 21, 1676. On April 22 the Council ordered Jacob to take command of his own company and that of Capt. Wadsworth who had also fallen. He wrote to the Council that same day: "About 500 of the enemy came in sight on Indian Hill and one, as their accustomed manner is after a fight, began to signify to us how many were slain. They cohooped seventy-four times, which we hoped was only to affright us, seeing we have had no intelligence of any such thing, yet we have reason to fear the worst." On Aug. 24, 1676, he was credited with £14:15:10. His death in the following summer was possibly the result of a wound or

of illness contracted during the hardships of the campaign.

His will, made June 8, was proved Sept. 26, 1676. To brother Thomas Jacob £30. To brother John Jacob £60. To brother Joseph Jacob £60. To sister Martha Jacob £55 and to sister Judith Jacob £45, all but £10 of each legacy to be paid in household goods. Residue to brother Nathaniel, executor. Overseers: "my two uncle Appletons." Witnesses: Samuel Appleton, John Whipple. (*Essex Probate, No. 14726.*) The inventory of £1067 included a farm of 150 acres with housing (£750), his military pay (£13:5:10), clothes (£12). "Goods apriised by itself for the two sisters" (£61:12:5) probably consisted of his more costly possessions.

Child, born in Ipswich:

1. *Mary*, b. Jan. 20, 1674; d. June 20, 1675.

- iv. John; servant of Mr. John Paine in 1663; witnessed an Isles of Shoals deed for Thomas Daniel of Portsmouth, N. H., Oct. 22, 1670; taxed for the Portsmouth minister's support in 1677; had a grant at Falmouth, Me., under President Danforth in 1680. He m. (1) before May, 1680, Jane ——. In King's Chapel yard was her gravestone: Here lyeth buried ye body of Jane late wife of John Jacob aged about —¹ years departed this life January ye 1 1686/7. He m. (2) Susanna — by 1688, and apparently lived in Boston from the time of his first marriage.

The will of John Jacob of Boston, merchant, was made May 12, 1688, "being about to undertake a journey abroad", and proved Jan. 28, 1690. To his wife Susanna he gave "the stuff she brought with her upon marriage with me." To Jane Jacob, his only child, the rest of the estate and she to be educated out of the proceeds of his rents. "Only if my present wife Should have a son by me begotten then I do give unto my child my new child my New Silver Tankard that hath my Coat of Arms engraven thereon." Executor: brother-in-law William Hesece, Junr., in trust until daughter Jane becomes 18 or her day of marriage and then she to be sole executrix. Witnesses: Isaac Addington, Samuel Mason, Mary Mason. William Hersy of Rumny Marsh, husbandman

¹ Printed "73 years" in the published epitaphs of King's Chapel, probably a misreading of "33 years." The stone cannot be found (1939).

and executor, gave a receipt on Aug. 20, 1691, to Susanna Jacob, the relict, covering goods valued at £52:14:0 as contained in an inventory taken Nov. 10, 1690, by John Baker and Joseph Hiller. (*Suffolk Probate*, 8:18, 51.)

Children, by first wife, born in Boston:

1. *John*, b. May 12, 1680; d. young.
2. *Jane*, b. Sept. 5, 1681; on Dec. 19, 1695, a minor fourteen years of age, and upwards, she appointed her friend Capt. Simon Willard of Salem her guardian (*Suffolk Probate*, 13:703); m. in Salem Nov. 24, 1708, her cousin Josiah Willard.
3. *Mary*, b. Oct. 7, 1684; d. young.
By second wife:
4. *Richard*, b. Sept. 15, 1689, by which it is obvious that his father returned from abroad; d. young.

- v. Nathaniel; an Ipswich commoner in 1678, a voter in town affairs in 1679, a grantee at Falmouth, Me., in 1680, and a freeman at Rowley in 1684.

"Called forth upon an expedition against the Indians," he made his will Nov. 10, 1688, and it was probated Nov. 26, 1689. To his brother Thomas he left £20. To his brother John, £30. To sister Martha Willard, £30. To sister Judith Husey, £20. To cousin John Appleton, £5. "I give to ye standing minister or ministers twenty shillings per year, during ye continuance of such a ministry as is now settled in Ipswich as to Doctrine and form." Executor: brother Joseph. (*Essex Probate*, 304:205.) Mr. Simon Willard was appointed administrator *de bonis non* Jan. 20, 1700/1, after Joseph Jacob's death.

- vi. Judith, b. about 1650; m. William Hasey of Rumney Marsh before Nov. 12, 1675, when she was given a letter from the church at Ipswich to the church in Boston; d. Nov. 17, 1718, aged sixty-eight.
- vii. Martha; m. about 1679 Capt. Simon Willard who lived in Salem after 1680 and m. there, second, July 25, 1722, Priscilla Buttolph. Willard was mentioned as "brother Willard" in the account in the estate of Joseph Jacob, was administrator *d.b.n.* of Nathaniel Jacob's estate, and guardian of the only child of John Jacob.

- 2-viii. Joseph, b. about 1655.

2. Joseph² Jacob (*Richard*¹) was born about 1655 according to a deposition made in 1672 when he was a

servant of Nathaniel Rust, which gave his age as seventeen. (*Records and Files*, V: 190.) He was twenty-one when he served under Capt. Poole in King Philip's War, for which service he was credited £2: 14: 10 on August 24, 1676.

He was executor of his brother Nathaniel's estate in 1689.

He mortgaged his Ipswich farm of one hundred and forty acres to his niece Lydia Jacob of Boston May 2, 1693, to secure to her the £100 legacy left her by her grandfather Jacob, and she signed a discharge March 6, 1693/4, in Boston.

On December 18, 1690, he married Susanna Symonds, a granddaughter of the Deputy-Governor. It is probable that she died soon after the birth of her third child about 1695 as she did not survive her husband. He was killed by Indians at Winnegance in September, 1697. His brother Thomas Jacob was granted administration on his estate October 5, 1697, and Col. Samuel Appleton, their kinsman, was appointed guardian of the two surviving children. Among his debts was £5 to his sister Moody (his brother Samuel's widow), £4 to his sister Hasey, £7: 13: 0 to his brother Willard and £5 additional for boarding his young son, and £4 to Abraham Fitts for taking care of the child (Susanna Jacob), Mrs. Fitts probably being her nurse. An inventory of £452 was entered on October 20, 1697. Col. Appleton rendered his account March 29, 1715, Susanna Jacob having chosen her brother Joseph to succeed him as guardian on the previous March 16. (*Essex Probate*, 306: 5, 19; 311: 258.)

Children, born in Ipswich:

- i. Samuel, b. Dec. 1, 1691; d. Dec. 13, 1691.
- 3-ii. Joseph, b. Mar. 12, 1692/3.
- iii. Susanna, m. Philip Fowler, int. June 2, 1716; for £120 they quit-claimed all interest (1/3) in the estate of their honored father Mr. Joseph Jacob to her brother Joseph July 23, 1716.

3. Joseph³ Jacob (*Joseph², Richard¹*) was born in Ipswich March 12, 1692/3. He married on April 29, 1723, Mary Bartlett of Newbury who died before 1733 when her son Richard was mentioned in the will of her father John Bartlett.

On June 27, 1718, Joseph Jacob "of Ipswich" bought land partly in Exeter and partly in Dover from Ichabod and Elizabeth Allen of Chilmark. In a deed of May 10, 1728, when he purchased land in Newmarket from Mary Brown of Berwick, he was "of Newbury." From 1729 through 1732 there are eleven deeds stating that he was "of Exeter" and "of Newmarket." On March 6, 1732/3, he bought a house and land in Stratham from John Elden of Biddeford, and five deeds through 1734/5 call him "of Stratham," the last being his sale of the Stratham property to John Coker. He sold "one Narragansett right in township No. 1 delivered unto me by my Hon^d Uncle Richard Jacob who was actually a soldier in ye Narragansett Warr" to his brother-in-law Philip Fowler on December 6, 1735. From 1735 there are five deeds giving a Newmarket residence until February 14, 1737, when he sold land and buildings in Newmarket to Fowler, which probably marks his departure, with his young son Richard, from New Hampshire.

As he seems to have been of a roving disposition, he may have tried other settlements in central and western Massachusetts before fixing upon Sheffield as a permanent home. He was surely there by 1747 when his son married. In 1762 he bought land in Egremont from Richard and on July 10, 1764, sold to John Upham, Jr., of Claverack, Albany County, New York, "all my land in Sheffield and Egremont with my dwelling house and improvements." Richard bought from him one right in Lanesborough in 1767, and finally, "of Sheffield," he conveyed to Richard the last of his Exeter property on January 17, 1770.

Mr. Joseph Jacob died December 6, 1786, in his 94th year. (*Gravestone at Sheffield.*) As no will or adminis-

tration is found he doubtless had turned over his entire estate to his son who cared for him in his great age.

Child:

4-i. Richard, b. May 28, 1724, in Ipswich.

4. Richard⁴ Jacob (*Joseph³, Joseph², Richard¹*) was born in Newbury May 28, 1724. After a boyhood spent in Exeter, he went to Sheffield, Mass., with his father. He married by 1747 Thankful Kellogg, daughter of Stephen Kellogg of Sheffield. Mrs. Thankful, wife of Mr. Richard Jacob, died May 28, 1787, in her 60th year. (*Gravestone at Sheffield.*) His second wife was widow Sabra (Colver) St. John whom he married at Sharon, Conn., December 24(?), 1787. Mrs. Sabra, wife of Mr. Richard Jacob, died March 1, 1799, in her 69th year. (*Gravestone at Sheffield.*) He married, thirdly, April 25, 1799, widow Susanna Kellogg, who survived him and died March 8, 1812, aged seventy-five. Mr. Richard Jacob died January 14, 1809, aged eighty-four. (*Gravestone at Sheffield.*)

He was a large landowner in Sheffield, buying there in 1749/50, 1754, 1758 and 1760. He bought from his father a right in Lanesboro in 1767. He sold a farm in Egremont to his father in 1762, land in Lanesboro in 1770 and 1781 (his father's right), land in Egremont and in Sandisfield in 1786.

On February 6, 1770, he sold to Eli Beede of Kingston the land in Exeter, New Hampshire, which his father had conveyed to him a month before.

Richard Jacob, yeoman, made his will July 26, 1804. and it was proved February 7, 1809. To his eldest son, Stephen Jacob of Windsor, Vermont, he left \$1.00 in addition to what he had already received. To daughter Mary Curtis, wife of Jonathan Curtis, certain lands, ten acres of which, bought of James Saxton, was in possession of her son Abijah Curtis. To grandchildren Nancy Jacob, Stephen Jacob, Elisha Pelham Jacob, Ursula McLe-land, Thankful Jacob and Eliza Jacob, children of his late son Richard Jacob of Clifton Park, Half Moon township, New York, fifty acres in Sheffield. To daughter Keziah Trowbridge, wife of Capt. Aaron Trowbridge of

Sheffield, \$17.00. To daughter Thankful Homes, wife of Benjamin Franklin Homes of Sheffield, fifty acres in Sheffield. To son Israel Jacob of Sheffield, the land on which Israel lived together with six other tracts of land in Sheffield. The executors were directed to carry to full and liberal effect the articles of settlement made between him and his wife Susanna Jacob before their marriage. Residue to children by representation. Executors: son Stephen Jacob, Elisha Lee of Sheffield. (*Berkshire Probate, 14: 308.*)

Children, born in Sheffield:

- i. Mary, b. Sept. 24, 1747; d. Nov. 11, 1748.
- ii. Joseph, b. Aug. 26, 1748; d. Aug. 2, 1749.
- iii. Mary, b. April 1, 1750; m. Jonathan Curtis.
- iv. Abigail, b. Feb. 6, 1751; bapt. (adult) at Egremont Nov. 25, 1770, and dismissed to Sheffield July 5, 1773; not mentioned in her father's will.
- v. Joseph, b. Feb. 14, 1753; d. Dec. 20, 1758.
- vi. Stephen, b. Dec. 7, 1754. He entered Dartmouth College but transferred to Yale College where he graduated (A.B.) in 1778. He served in Capt. Spoor's company, Col. Ashley's regiment, from September 19 to October 19, 1777. In August, 1778, he read a "Poetical Essay" at the first celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Bennington. He settled in Windsor, Vermont, where he spent his life in the practice of law. A Federalist in politics, he represented Windsor in the Vermont Assembly in 1781, 1788, 1789, 1794, was State's Attorney in 1786, a member of the commission to settle the Vermont-New York boundary in 1790, U. S. District Attorney in 1791, a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1793, and State Councillor from Oct. 1796 to Oct. 1801 when he resigned to become a Judge of the Vermont Supreme Court. From 1802 until his death he was a trustee of Dartmouth College. He m. Nov. 3, 1779, Pamela Farland of Canaan, Conn. He d. Jan. 27, 1817. Three daughters. (*History of Eastern Vermont, Hall, pp. 548, 550; Vermont Historical Society Collections, I: 265; Yale Biographies and Annals, Dexter, IV: 39.*)
- vii. Richard; m. Elizabeth — by 1781; d. before his father, leaving children Nancy, Stephen, Elisha Pelham, Ursula, Thankful and Eliza. In the Revolution he saw service from Jan. 18, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1779, in Capt. Spoor's

company (Col. Ashley's regiment), and in Capt. Bartlett's and Lieut. Col. Miller's companies (Col. Weston's regiment). There are also pay accounts in his name for service between Jan. 1—Jan. 18, 1780, and Oct. 12—Oct. 23, 1781. In 1785 he bought land in Sheffield from Frederick Sexton.

- viii. Nathaniel, b. Aug. 6, 1758; d. Sept. 7, 1758.
- ix. Kezia, b. Nov. 20, 1762; m. Capt. Aaron Trowbridge.
- x. Thankful, b. Oct. 16, 1765; m. Dec. 25, 1787 Benjamin Franklin Holmes.
- xi. Israel, b. Dec. 26, 1767; m. Sylvania —, who d. Mar. 15, 1798, in her 30th year. (*Gravestone at Sheffield.*) Two sons are recorded in Sheffield: *Sherman*, b. Sept. 10, 1789, and *Richard*, b. Mar. 10, 1791.

DERBY SILVER.

Boston Mar. 15th 1758 Received from Capⁿ Rich^d Derby
Eight Pound five Shilings Lawful Mony in full for a
Silver TeaPott

£8: 5

Benj^a Rust

BILL FOR ATTENDANCE AT THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

TOWN OF SALEM TO DANIEL HOPKINS.

1775	To my attendance at the Provincial Congress—45 days at 6/	£13.10.0
	Supra	
1776	Cr By an order upon the Town Treasurer	£6.19.0
	Balance due Danl. Hopkins	6.11.0
		£13.10.0

Salem 17 Nov. 1794. Rec'd the above bal.

Ⓟ D. Hopkins.

SALEM OCEAN-BORNE COMMERCE

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION,
1783-1789.

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS.

(Continued from Volume LXXV, page 381.)

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 12, 1788.

Ship News.

"Since our last, the ship Lighthorse, belonging to Elias Hasket Derby, Esq. and commanded by Capt. Ichabod Nichols, sailed from this port for Canton in China."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Union, White
Brig George & Jacob, Elkins

Cape-Francois
Northcarolina

Cleared.

Ship Lighthorse, Nichols
Brig Fanny, Proctor
Brig 2 Friends, Dean
Schooner Volant, Sinclair
Schooner 3 Friends, Peabody
Schooner Peggy, Phippen
Sloop Polly, Knight
Sloop Louisa, Very

Canton
Westindies
ditto
ditto
ditto
Spain
Cadiz
Portsmouth

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 19, 1788.

Salem, August 19: "Never were our fishermen more successful than in the present season—they have uniformly returned, both to this and the neighbouring ports, with great fares: several have come in here since our last, some of which had 600 quintals."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig 3 Sisters, Hodges
Brig Lark, Webb

Gottenburg
St. Martins

Cleared.

Schooner Union, Emmerton
Schooner St. John, Crowninshield
Sloop 2 Sisters, Very

Westindies
ditto
ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 26, 1788.

Ship News.

"On Saturday evening arrived here, Capt. Daniel Saunders, from Aux-Cayes, in 19 days. On the 4th inst. he left there Capt. John Ropes and Capt. Townsend, of this port—

the brig —, Capt. Perkins, of Rhode-Island, who arrived the evening before he sailed. Capt. Saunders spoke an Englishman, from Turks-Island, bound to Boston."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Favourite, Robinson	Martinico
Brig Eliza, Boardman	St. Martins
Brig Favourite, Barker	ditto
Brig William, Shillaber	Bonaire
Schooner Little John, Hilton	Cadiz
Sloop Exchange, Brown	St. Eustatia

Cleared.

Brig William, Buffinton	Westindies
Schooner Polly, Peirce	Baltimore

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 2, 1788.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Dispatch, Briggs	Aux Cayes
Brig Hopewell, Webb	Port au Prince
Brig Ranger, Chipman	Cape Francois
Schooner Turn of Times, Strout	Bonaire
Schooner Polly, Bowditch	Cape de Verd
Sloop Hope, Wellman	Turks-Island
Philadelphia and Newyork Packet, Bayley	S. Carolina

Cleared.

Brig 3 Sisters, Webb	Newyork
Schooner Eliza, Leach	Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 9, 1788.

Salem, September 9. "In the sloop Alice, Captain Needham, which arrived here from Philadelphia, last week, came passenger, the Lady of Timothy Pickering, Esq. formerly of this town—now, of the county of Luzerne, in the State of Pennsylvania."

Ship News.

"The ship Astrea, Captain Tittle, from the Baltick for this port, was spoke with about a week ago by a Marblehead fisherman, steering for St. Peter's, being then within 24 hours sail of the island, in order to repair some damage she had met with."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Sloop Alice, Needham	Philadelphia
----------------------	--------------

Cleared.

Ship Atlantick, Elkins	Isle of France
Schooner Union, Ingersoll	Westindies
Sloop 2 Brothers, Spilzenfiel	Island of St. Peters

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 16, 1788.

Ship News.

"Brig Patty, Josiah Lee, master, arrived at New-London

from Cape-de-Verds, in 51 days, left at Bonavesta, . . .
Schooner ———, Bowditch, belonging to this port. . . . ”

"Capt. Williams arrived at Cape-Ann, last week, in 45 days from L'Orient. Capt. Simmons, of this port, sailed in company with him."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Cleared.

Brig Hind, Bickford
Schooner 2 Brothers, Perkins
Schooner Polly, Holman

Corunna
Westindies
Baltimore

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 23, 1788.

Ship News.

“Arrived yesterday from Aux Cayes, the sloop Dispatch, Capt. Townsend. Capt. John Ropes, of this port, sailed from the same place two days before Capt. Townsend.”

"The ship *Astrea*, of this port, has arrived safe at St. Peter's."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Wm. & Henry, Simmons
Brig Henry, Andrews
Schooner Sally, Burchmore

L'Orient
Baltimore
St. Eustatia

Cleared.

Brig Columbia, Lander
Schooner Turn of Times, Strout
Schooner Felicity, Fairfield
Sloop Louisa, Very

Westindies
ditto
Cape de Verd Islands
Baltimore

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 30, 1788.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Eliza, Ropes
Sloop Friendship, Ward
Sloop Dispatch, Townsend

Virgin Islands
St. Eustatia
Aux-Cayes

Cleared.

Brig Favourite, Shillaber
Brig William, Shillaber
Brig Lark, Webb
Schooner Lydia, Rust
Schooner Speedwell, West
Sloop Hope, Wellman
Sloop Sally, Chever

Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, October 7, 1788.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Cleared.

Brig Favourite, Neal
Schooner Peggy, Russell
Sloop Alice, Needham
Schooner Catharine, Latour

West-Indies
Connecticut
Philadelphia
South-Carolina

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, October 14, 1788.
Massachusetts

Boston, Oct. 13. "A correspondent has favoured us with an account of the cargo of the ship *Alliance*, lately arrived at Philadelphia from Canton, which is as follows: 1,725 chests of Bohea tea, 710 chests Hyson ditto, 384 chests Sou-chong ditto, 35 chests Silks, 15 chests nankins, 321 chests China. Valued at 74,000£. Currency. The above ship and cargo, we are told, are owned entirely by Robert Morris, Esq. of Philadelphia—which is perhaps the only instance, in Europe or America, of an Indiaman and cargo being owned by an individual.*

Salem, October 14

* We feel a degree of pleasure in saying, that Robert Morris, Esq. is not the only individual, in America, of sufficient ability and enterprise to own an Indiaman and cargo. ELIAS HASKET DERBY, Esq. of this town, has been solely concerned in several voyages to the East-Indies:— The ship *Grand Turk*, Captain West, finished the first voyage made from New-England to Canton, in May, 1787; the ship *Three Sisters*, Capt. Nichols, sailed from this port in December, 1786, and was sold with her cargo in India; the bark *Lighthorse*, Capt. Tucker, sailed for that quarter in January, 1787, and returned in January, 1788; the ship *Grand Turk*, Capt. Derby, sailed in December, 1787; ship *Juno*, Capt. Elkins, in Jan. 1789, but foundered a short time after her departure; ship *Lighthorse*, Capt. Nichols, last August; and the ship *Atlantick*, Capt. Elkins, last month:— These vessels, with their valuable cargoes, were all the property of Mr. Derby: And perhaps instances of equal enterprise, in an individual, are scarcely to be found in Europe or America." . . .

Ship News.

"Capt. Tenny, who arrived at Newbury-Port last week, from the Isle of May, left the following vessels, the 1st ult. all of which expected to sail a few days after Capt. Tenny: . . . Brig *Jane*, Capt. Grant, of this port, and a ship from Philadelphia: none of which would be able to complete their cargoes of salt."

"Advice received from Aux Cayes, after the hurricane 16th ult. that there was a fresh gale with thunder and lightning, but no vessel put on shore there. A schooner, *Oliver*, Master, from Salem, arrived there two days after, with the loss of her mainmast, boom, sails, &c. and some other vessels unknown.

N. London paper."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner *Polly & Sally*, Thomas

Virginia

Cleared.

Schooner *Sally*, Burchmore

West Indies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, October 21, 1788.

Salem, October 21. "Capt. Cleves arrived here yesterday, in 49 days from Gottenburg; . . . "

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Swan, Southard

*Schooner Polly, Peirce

Sloop Dolphin, Molloy

Martinico

Maryland

Port-au-Prince

Ship News.

"Several of our fishermen which have arrived within a fortnight past, have suffered the loss of anchors, cables, &c. in a gale of wind on the 22d ult. and what is still more melancholy, a Manchester schooner, we hear, lost three of her hands, a Beverly schooner 2."

"Capt. Benjamin Crowningshield, lately arrived here, in the schooner Peggy, from Hamburg, 65 days passage, sailed in company with Capt. Benjamin Weeks, of the ship Henrietta, of Philadelphia, bound for Madeira."

"Capt. Molloy, arrived since our last, from the West-Indies; on the 23d Sept. lat. 34--50, spoke Capt. Bartholomew Lasel, from Port-au-Prince to Wells, dismasted and short of water, kept his company 3 days, and made the land, but a gale of wind compelled him to quit her 3 days after. Next morning, saw a deck afloat, but not tho't to belong to the vessel above referred to."

"Capt. Byrne, of this port, sailed from Gottenburg, the same day Capt. Cleves did."

* Adv. in issue of October 28: "NEW FLOUR Just imported from BALTIMORE, in the schooner Polly, Capt. Peirce, And to be SOLD at JOHN DALAND'S NEW GROCERY STORE."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, October 28, 1788.

Salem, Oct. 28. "Died, at sea, on his return from the West-Indies . . . Capt. John Ropes, of this port, in the 25th year of his age.—"

"Died, at Martinico, Capt. Benjamin Cox, of this town, aged 46 years; . . . "

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig 3 Sisters, Webb

Schooner Nabby, Cleaves

Schooner Union, Emmerton

Schooner St. John, Crowninshield

Sloop 2 Brothers, Roche

Cleared.

Brig Ranger, Chipman

Schooner Little John, Hilton

Baltimore

Gottenburg

Turks Island

St. Bartholomew

Trinidad

S. Carolina

Cadiz

Schooner Peggy, Benson
Schooner William, Underwood

C. de Verd
Grenada

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, November 4, 1788.
Ship News.

"By a vessel arrived since our last, from St. Peters, we are informed of several vessels in a shattered situation on the Banks of Newfoundland . . ."

"On Sunday, arrived at Boston, the brig Nancy, Capt. Benjamin Leach, of Newbury-Port, in 18 days from Wilmington, N. C. . . same day, arrived there, Capt. Nickerson, in 30 days from Martinico—Left there, the schooner —, Capt. Thorndike, of Beverly."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, November 11, 1788
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Ship Astrea, Tittle
Brig Hope, Byrne
Brig Jane, Grant
Schooner Freedom, Goodshall
Schooner Cicero, Barr
Schooner Volant, Sinclair

Stockholm
Gottenburg
C. de Verd
Guadaloupe
Cape Francois
St. Croix

Cleared.

Brig Dispatch, Cleves
Brig Pluto, Dean
Schooner Eagle, Smith
Schooner Dispatch, Townsend
Schooner Sally, Saunders
Schooner Eliza, Webb
Schooner Mary, M'Millan
Schooner Dolphin, Butman
Sloop Dolphin, Molloy
Sloop Friendship, Ward

Georgia
Westindies
do.
do.
do.
do.
N. Carolina
Baltimore
Westindies
do.

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, November 18, 1788.

Salem, November 18. "The brig Hector, Capt. Lewis, of this port, arrived since our last — being 90 days from Petersburg, and 70 from Elsineur."

Ship News.

"Since our last, arrived brig Benjamin, Capt. Hugh Helme, of this port, in 53 days, from Malaga. Informs, that the Algerines are out in considerable numbers, and also three Portuguese men of war, to protect trade.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Hector, Lewis
Schooner Volant, Molton
Schooner Two Brothers, Perkins
Schooner Eliza, Leach

St. Petersburg
N. Carolina
St. Eustatia
ditto

Sloop Alice, Needham	Philadelphia
Cleared.	
Schooner Polly, Bowditch	West Indies
Schooner Fisher, Robinson	Cape de Verd
Schooner Polly, Storey	Baltimore

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, November 25, 1788.
 Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.	
Brig Volant, Mosely	Noirmouties
Schooner Lily, Dunham	do.
Schooner Turn of Times, Strout	St. Eustatia
Sloop 2 Sisters, Very	St. Lucie
Cleared.	
Schooner Nabby, Ives	Senegal
Schooner Robin, Cook	N. Carolina
Schooner Lively, Brown	do.
Schooner Freedom, Ropes	W. Indies
Schooner Sukey, Orne	C. de Verd

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, December 2, 1788.
 Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.	
Schooner Industry, Allen	Corunna
Cleared.	
Brig Three Sisters, Webb	Cape Goodhope
Schooner Swan, Derby	Spain
Schooner Peggy, Eldrige	Newyork
Schooner 3 Brothers, Collins	Westindies
Schooner Union, Barr	ditto
Schooner Betsey, Tucker	ditto
Schooner Lydia, Tucker	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, December 9, 1788.
 Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.	
Brig Fanny, Procter	Cape-Francois
Schooner Polly, Holman	Baltimore
Cleared.	
Brig Hope, Lambert	Mozambique
Brig Jane, Waters	Southcarolina
Brig Cicero, Mason	Westindies
Brig Wm. & Henry, Hodges	Isle of France
Schooner Dove, Bowditch	Westindies
Schooner St. John, Crowninshield	ditto
Schooner Speed, Smith	ditto
Schooner Polly, M'Comb	Northcarolina

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, December 16, 1788.
 Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.	
Brig 2 Friends, Dean	Cape-Francois
Brig St. John, Slewman	Cadiz

Schooner Essex, Lovett	Port-au-Prince
Sloop Louisa, Very	Virginia
Sloop Betsey, Knight	Cadiz
Cleared.	
Brig Henry, Crowninshield	Isle of France
Brig Fanny, Wallace	Baltimore
Brig Betsey, Byrne	Cadiz
Brig Nancy, Dunham	Virginia
Schooner Polly, Ravel	Northcarolina
Schooner Polly, Felt	Westindies
Schooner Nancy, West	Virginia
Schooner Lily, Wooldridge	Bilboa
Schooner Ruth, Peters	South carolina
Schooner Eliza, Hosmer	Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, December 23, 1788
Ship News.

"Capt. Lambert, arrived here from Port-au-Prince, sailed in company with Captain Twing, of the brig Mary, belonging to Boston; and parted from him in lat. 26, 10. long. 72, 23. . . . all well."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, December 30, 1788.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.	
Schooner 3 Friends, Peabody	St. Eustatia
Cleared.	
Brig Goodhope, Forrister	Lisbon
Brig Volant, Mosely	Bridport
Schooner Sally, Burditt	Senegall
Schooner Turn of Times, Strout	Westindies
Schooner William, Croel	Cape de Verd
Schooner Industry, Allen	Westindies
Sloop Two Brothers, Roche	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, January 6, 1789.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.	
Brig Lydia, Murphy	Marseilles
Schooner Polly & Betsey, Lambert	Port-au-Prince
Schooner Peggy, Phippen	Malaga
Schooner Dolphin, Butman	Baltimore
Schooner Peggy, Eldridge	Newyork
Cleared.	
Ship Washington, Crowninshield	Isle of France
Brig Fanny, Procter	Cape de Verd
Brig Hector, Lewis	Baltimore
Brig St. John, Slewman	Northcarolina
Brig Mary-Ann, Hathorne	Westindies
Brig Nancy, Barker	Bilboa
Schooner John, Andrews,	Southcarolina
Schooner Polly, Procter	Maryland
Schooner Betsey, Chapman	Cadiz

Sloop Polly, Knight
Sloop Two Sisters, Very

Baltimore
Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, January 13, 1789.

Ship News.

"Thursduy, arrived at Boston, ship 3 Brothers, Capt. Russell, 10 weeks from Lisbon. The 2d inst. lat. 42, 25, long. 69, spoke a schooner from Salem for Tobago . . . wind N.N.W. . . ."

"Same day, arrived at the same port, the schooner Polly, Capt. Downs, in 12 days from Ocracock, N. C. Left there, several vessels from Salem, Beverly, Newburyport, &c."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Adventure, Clarke
Schooner Union, Ingersoll

Isle of May
Newyork

Cleared.

Brig Hopewell, Coffin
Brig 2 Friends, Dean
Brig Benjamin, Helme
Schooner 3 Friends, Peabody
Schooner Peggy, Eldridge
Schooner Neptune, Andrews
Schooner Peggy, Phippen

Isle of France
N. Carolina
Westindies
Virginia
do.
do.
Portugal

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, January 20, 1789.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner N. York Packet, Barnard

Newyork

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, January 27, 1789
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig William, Buffinton

Martinico

Cleared.

Schooner Essex, Derby
Schooner Eunice, Sinclair
Schooner Polly & Betsey, Lambert
Schooner Polly, Tarrant

Corunna
Westindies
do.
do.

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, February 10, 1789.
Ship News.

"The brig Hector, Capt. Lewis, of this port, bound to Virginia, got on the Matchapungo Shoals, the evening of 25th Dec. where the vessel and cargo were lost . . . the crew were all saved."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Robin, Cook
Sloop Dolphin, Molloy

N. Carolina
Cape Francois

Cleared.

Schooner Cicero, Barr

West-Indies

Schooner Fisher, Ingersoll	ditto
Brig George & Jacob, Henfield	N. Carolina
Sloop Betsey, Huntress	Portsmouth

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, February 17, 1789.

Ship News.

"Capt. Dring is arrived at Newport from the Isle of May, which he left the 12th Dec. and left there Capt. Dennis of Salem, all well." . . .

"The ship *Astrea*, Captain James Magee, sailed from this port, on Sunday last, for Batavia and Canton."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Sloop Dispatch, Townsend	St. Eustatia
Cleared.	
Ship <i>Astrea</i> , Magee	Batavia & Canton
Schooner Sally, Odell	W. Indies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, February 24, 1789.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Nancy, Olimore	Southcarolina
Schooner St. John, Crowninshield	St. Croix
Cleared.	
Ship Lydia, Murphy	Isle of France & Batavia
Schooner Richard & Edward, Rob	Isle of France

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, March 10, 1789

Ship News.

"Capt. Samuel Stillman, arrived at New-London, in 24 days from Cape Francois, left there, 23d Jan. schooner —, Capt. Williams of this town; schooner *Friendship*, Batchelder, and schooner Lark, Thislee, of Beverly; . . . "

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Polly, Bowditch	Martinico
Schooner Eliza, Webb	Cape Francois
Cleared.	
Brig William, West	Lisbon
Brig Eliza, Hall	S. Carolina
Brig Leopard, Tittle	Ireland
Schooner Polly, Storey	Baltimore
Schooner 2 Brothers, Perkins	Philadelphia

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, March 17, 1789

Salem, March 17. "Capt. Hilton arrived here yesterday, in 49 days from Cadiz." . . .

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Little John, Hilton	Cadiz
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Cleared.

Schooner Hannah, Holman	Baltimore
Schooner Industry, Clarke	Westindies
Schooner Molly, Crowninshield	do.

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, March 24, 1789.

Ship News.

"Captain Curtis, arrived at Boston in 20 days from Georgetown (S. C.) left there, schooner —, Capt. Andrews, of Salem, who expected to sail in a few days for Nantz."

"March 1. Captains Barr and Felt, of Salem, sailed from Savanna, Georgia, for Martinique. . . ."

"Capt. Silliman, arrived at N. London from Turk's island, on the 18th Feb. spoke schooner —, Capt. Derby, of Salem . . . from 'Statia bound to N. Carolina, out 20 days."

"On Wednesday evening, Capt. Daniel Saunders arrived from Aux Cayes, left there a number of American vessels— Capt. Burchmore and Capt. Ropes, of this port, who were soon to sail."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Sally, Saunders	Aux Cayes
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Cleared.

Schooner St. John, Pratt	Cape-de-Verd
Schooner Dispatch, Townsend	Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, March 31, 1789.

Ship News.

"Sloop Dolphin, arrived at New-London on Saturday the 14th inst. in 30 days from St. Eustatia, who, in lat. 38, long. 70, spoke the schooner Friday, Francis Brady, belonging to Salem, out 18 days, bound to Baltimore."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Hind, Bickford	Bonavista
Schooner Ruth, Peters	Southcarolina
Sloop Friendship, Ward	Martinico

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, April 7, 1789.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Cleared.

Schooner Alice, Needham	Philadelphia
Schooner Polly & Sally, Bowditch	Bristol
Schooner Nancy, Stone	Bilboa
Schooner Polly, Needham	Westindies
Schooner Little John, Hilton	Isle of France

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, April 14, 1789

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Polly, Freeman	Liverpool (Novasco)
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Schooner Betsey, Tucker	Martinico
Schooner Polly, Storey	Maryland
Schooner Polly, Ravel	N. Carolina
Sloop Two Sisters, Very	St. Eustatia
Cleared.	
Schooner Polly, Freeman	Liverpool
Schooner Eliza, Webb	Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, April 21, 1789.

Salem, April 21. "A vessel is lying at one of the wharves in town, whose sails, standing rigging, twine, &c. and all on board of a similar nature, (cables excepted) with Duck for sale, are the manufacture of the town of Stratford, in Connecticut, the place of her departure." . . .

"On Sunday arrived here, Capt. John Collins, in the schooner Three Brothers, in eight days from Charleston, in lat. 33, long. 76, spoke the brig Shoursby or Salisbury, Capt. Benj. Eddy or Edney (blowing hard, could not understand) belonging to Boston, from Hispaniola to Georgia—all well."

"Capt. Stoddard, arrived at Boston, in 25 days from Gaudaloupe, left there . . . brig Cicero, Capt. Mason, schooner —, Capt. Lambert, of this port; . . ."

"In a very severe gale at Martinico, 5th of March, were the following losses: Schooner —, Capt. Lowell, of Newbury . . . vessel and cargo lost; do. — Capt. Boardman, do. vessel lost; brig Mary-Ann, Capt. Hathorne, of this port."

"Capt. Stephen Webb arrived on Sunday from St. Martin's."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Fanny, Proctor	Bonavista
Brig Ranger, Chipman	St. Martins
Brig Union, White	Cadiz
Schooner Eliza, Hosmer	Cape-Francois
Schooner Nabby, Ives	Bonavista
Schooner Lydia, Rust	Cape Francois
Schooner 3 Brothers, Collins	Northcarolina
Schooner Peggy, Very	Virginia
Sloop Industry, More	Connecticut
Sloop Peggy, Russell	Connecticut
Cleared.	
Schooner Friendship, Ward	Westindies
Schooner Volant, Molloy	ditto
Schooner Polly, Holman	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, April 28, 1789.

Ship News

"Friday last arrived here Capt. Chapman, in 51 days from

Cadiz, left there, Captains Derby, Byrne and Phippen of this port; . . . ”

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Lark, Webb	St. Martins
Schooner Turn of Times, Strout	Demarara
Schooner Hannah, Glover	Baltimore
Schooner Sally, Burchmore	Aux Cayes
Schooner Speed, Smith	Martinico
Schooner Betsey, Chapman	Cadiz
Schooner Lily, Wooldridge	Bilboa
Sloop Dispatch, Grow	Port-au-Prince
Sloop Judith, Clark	Georgia
Sloop Hope, Wellman	Turks-island
Sloop 2 Brothers, Roche	Aux-Cayes
Cleared.	
Brig Adventure, Emerton	Baltimore
Brig Hind, Bickford	Virginia
Schooner Lucy, Munday	Cape de Verd

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Extraordinary,
Tuesday, April 28, 1789

Salem, April 28, 1789. “By Capt. Francis B. Dennis, who arrived here last evening, we are favoured with New-York papers of last Wednesday, . . . ”

“Captain Dennis left Newyork last Friday morning. . . .”

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, May 5, 1789.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Benjamin, Helme	Turks-Island
Brig William, Shillaber	Cape-Francois
Brig Dispatch, Cleaves	Aux-Cayes
Schooner Polly, Tarrant	Turks-Island
Cleared.	
Schooner Turn of Times, Storey	Baltimore
Schooner Polly, Peirce	Baltimore
Schooner Lilly, Woldridge	Baltimore
Schooner Betsey, Tucker	Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, May 12, 1789.

Ship News.

“Capt. Salter, arrived at Portsmouth from Guadaloupe, left there, schooner Industry, Capt. Clarke, from Salem.”

“Arrived here on Sunday, Captain Clifford Byrne, from Cadiz.”

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Cicero, Mason	St. Eustatia
Schooner Lydia, Tucker	Martinico
Schooner Freedom, Ropes	Aux Cayes

Schooner Eagle, Smith
 Sloop Alice, Needham
 Cleared.
 Brig Ranger, Chipman
 Schooner Nabby, Ives
 Schooner Eliza, Hosmer

St. Croix
 Philadelphia
 Westindies
 Senegall
 Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, May 19, 1789.

Ship News

"Capt. Sinclair arrived here from Curacoa, on the 26th ult, lat. 26 N. long. 74. W. spoke schooner John, Capt. Lunt, from Aux Cayes to Philadelphia, belonging to Newbury Port, out 12 days, all well. On the 4th May, lat. 35 N. long. 71 W. spoke the brig Aurora, Capt. F. Folger, from Charleston to Bourdeaux, belonging to Baltimore, out five days, all well."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Betsey, Byrne
 Schooner Sally, Odell
 Schooner Union, Barr
 Schooner Polly, Lambert
 Schooner Swan, Derby
 Schooner Polly, Felt
 Schooner Eunice, Sinclair
 Schooner Fisher, Ingersoll
 Schooner Essex, Derby
 Cleared.

Cadiz
 St. Eustatia
 St. Martins
 St. Croix
 Cadiz
 St. Martins
 Curacoa
 St. Martins
 Corunna

Schooner Lydia, Rust

Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, May 26, 1789

Ship News

"Arrived snow Hope, Capt. Burroughs, in 116 days from the Isle of France. Left there ship Dauphin, Capt. Osgood; Peggy, Capt. Williamson; brig Sultana, Capt. Derby of this port. Capt. Osgood was to sail for Ostend, in 13 days after Capt. Burroughs."

"Arrived at Boston, ship Diana, Capt. George Folger, sen. in 40 days from St. Jago. Left at the Isle of May, a brig belonging to Mr. William Gray of this town; Capt. Murphey. had arrived at St. Jago, and sailed for the Isle of France, the day before Capt. Folger left St. Jago."

"Captain Lamb, from St. Jago, informs, that the ship Astrea, Capt. Magee, arrived there 15th March, and sailed 21st for Canton."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Molly, Crowninshield
 Schooner Lively, Brown
 Schooner Cicero, Barr

St. Croix
 St. Martins
 St. Eustatia

Cleared.

Schooner Two Brothers, Roche	Westindies
*Schooner Salem Packet, Very	Virginia
Schooner Three Brothers, Collins	N. Carolina
Schooner Sally, Burchmore	Westindies

* Adv. in preceding issues:

"The schooner Salem Packet, will sail for Alexandria about the middle of this month. For freight or passage, apply to Samuel Very, the Master, on board said schooner, lying at Mr. Derby's wharf.

Salem, May 3, 1789."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, June 2, 1789.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Nancy, Barker	Isle of May
Sloop Swan, Minott	Connecticut
Sloop Sally, Cheever	St. Martins

Cleared.

Brig Lark, Webb	Westindies
Brig Dispatch, Briggs	ditto
Brig Union, Barr	ditto
Schooner Two Sisters, Very	ditto
Schooner Hope, Wellman	ditto
Schooner Speed, Smith	ditto
Schooner Polly, Felt	Philadelphia
Schooner Polly, Pilsbury	ditto

Note: In this issue is the following adv: "JUST IMPORTED In the schooner INDUSTRY, from SOUTH-CAROLINA, And to be sold, cheap for CASH, By EDWARD ALLEN, in SALEM, New Rice, of the first quality, Indigo, Spirits Turpentine, Varnish, a quantity of Old Iron, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Cordage of different sizes."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, June 9, 1789
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Hannah, Holman	Baltimore
Schooner Polly, Peirce	Baltimore
Schooner Polly, Knight	Philadelphia

Cleared.

Brig Lucia, Leach	Bilboa
Schooner Essex, Derby	Ostend
Schooner Freedom, Ropes	Westindies
Schooner Molly, Wooldridge	Baltimore

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, June 16, 1789
Ship News

"Capt. Knowlton, who arrived last week at Beverly from a fishing voyage on Grand Bank, says, that on the 24th May he spoke the brig Merrimack, Capt. —, belonging to Newburyport, 18 days from Charleston, S. C. bound to Bourdeaux—all well."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Volant, Mosely

Cape de Verd

Cleared.

Schooner Cicero, Barr

Westindies

Schooner Polly & Betsey, Lambert

do.

Schooner Sally, Saunders

do.

Sloop Alice, Needham

Philadelphia

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, June 23, 1789.

Ship News

"Since our last, Capt. Henry Williams, of this town, arrived from St. Martins, which he left the 30th of May; . . . On the 4th of June, in lat. 24, 10; long. 64, 30, spoke the brig Tom, from Scotland, bound to New-York, the Captain died on the passage, and the sailors were on short allowance; Capt. Williams and Capt. Barnes, of Boston, supplied them with provisions. On the 9th of June, in lat. 31, 30; long. 69, 36, spoke Capt. James Barr, out 10 days, from Salem—all well."

"Arrived here on Sunday, the ship Peggy, Capt. Williamson, in 122 days from the Isle of France. Left there, Capt. Derby, of this port, in a brig; Capt. Low of Boston, in a brig, from Bombay, loaded with cotton; and Capt. Babcock of Boston, with two ships."

"Capt. Williamson stopped at St. Eustatia, . . ."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Ship Peggy, Williamson

Isle of France

Schooner Turn of Times, Storey

Baltimore

Cleared.

Schooner Lydia, Tucker

Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, June 30, 1789.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig William, West

Lisbon

Schooner Eliza, Webb

St. Croix

Schooner Industry, Clark

St. Martin's

Schooner Felicity, Ober

Martinico

Cleared.

Brig William, Shillaber

Bristol

Brig Fanny, Wallace

Lisbon

Schooner Polly, Felt

Baltimore

Schooner Polly, Knight

do.

Schooner Eliza, Webb

do.

*Schooner Hannah, Holman

do.

Schooner Eunice, Stone

W. Indies

Schooner Eagle, Crowninshield

do.

Schooner Lively, Brown

do.

Schooner Polly, Sinclair

do.

* Adv. in issues immediately preceding:

"For Baltimore, The schooner HANNAH, JOSEPH HOLMAN, master . . . will sail by the 22d of this month. For freight or passage, apply to the master on board, at Mr. Nathan Peirce's wharf, or to Capt. Jonathan Haraden. Salem June 15, 1789."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, July 7, 1789.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Polly, Felt	Philadelphia
Schooner Polly, Pilsbery	do.
Schooner Polly, Needham	Turksisland
Schooner Neptune, Andrews	Bilboa
Schooner Speedwell, West	l'Orient

Cleared.

Schooner Union, Ingersoll	Westindies
Schooner Industry, Clark	do.

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, July 14, 1789
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Volant, Molloy	St. Eustatia
Schooner Friendship, Ward	St. Martins
Schooner St. John, Pratt	Cape de Verds
Sloop Alice, Needham	Philadelphia

Cleared.

Schooner Neptune, Andrews	Bilboa
Schooner Turn of Times, Storey	Baltimore
Sloop 3 Friends, Benson	do.

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, July 21, 1789.
Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Pluto, Dean	Cadiz
Brig Favourite, Neal	l'Orient
Schooner Eleanor, Ingersoll	Cape-Francois
Schooner Fanny, Lindsey	St. Martins
Schooner Salem Packet, Very	Virginia
Schooner Peggy, Phippen	Cadiz

Cleared.

*Brig Cicero, Mason	Bristol
Brig William, West	Westindies
Schooner Friendship, Ward	do.
Schooner Polly, Felt	do.
Schooner Felicity, Byrne	do.

* Adv. in issues immediately preceding: "For Bristol or Liverpool. The brig CICERO, J. MASON, jun. Master, will sail by the 10 of July. For freight or passage apply to said Master on board, at the Union Long Wharf. Salem, June 30, 1789."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, July 28, 1789.
Ship News

"Capt. Ives is arrived at Beverly from the Cape de Verds, where he left Capt. Burditt, Capt. Tittle, and Capt. Stone, of this port."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig St. John, Slewman	Bristol
Schooner Peggy, Phippen	Cadiz
Schooner Mary, McMillan	St. Martins
Schooner 3 Friends, Peabody	St. Croix
Schooner John, Andrews	l'Orient

Cleared.

Brig Nancy, Barker	Bilboa
Schooner Volant, Mosely	ditto
Schooner Alice, Needham	Philadelphia
Schooner Molly, Wooldridge	Newfoundland

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 4, 1789.

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Schooner Sally, Burchmore	St. Eustatia
Schooner Hope, Wellman	St. Martins

Cleared.

Brig Betsey, Phippen	Cadiz
Schooner Eleanor, Ingersoll	Westindies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 11, 1789.

Ship News

"Arrived at Boston, brig Lydia, Capt. Prior, in 15 days from Cape-Francois, left there schooner Cicero, Capt. Barr; schooner Sally, Saunders, of this port; . . ."

Naval-Office, Salem.

Entered.

Brig Ranger, Chipman	St. Martins
Schooner Sally, Holman	St. Eustatia
Schooner Lydia, Rust	Cape-Francois
Schooner Polly, Felt	Baltimore
Schooner Eliza, Webb	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 18, 1789.

Ship News

"Capt. James Lovett is arrived at Beverly, in 21 days, from Martinique — where he left Captains Townsend and Sinclair, of this port."

Port of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.

Brig Dispatch, Briggs	from
Brig Cicero, Lovett	Aux Cayes
Schooner Fishhawk, Ober	Martinico
	St. Martin's

Cleared.

Schooner Polly, Needham	for
	Bilboa

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, August 25, 1789.

Ship News

"Yesterday arrived here the schooner Sally, Capt. Daniel Saunders, in 17 days from Cape Francois, left there Capt. John Barr, of this port, . . ."

Port of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Brig Lark, Webb	St. Martins
Schooner Eliza, Hosmer	St. Bartholomew
Schooner Sally, Burditt	St. Eustatia
Schooner Anstis, Ingersoll	Cape Francois
Schooner Pilgrim, Harrington	Liverpool, N. S.
Schooner Lark, Foster	Surrinam
Cleared.	for
Brig Success, Hilton	Bilboa
Schooner Speedwell, West	Westindies
Schooner Three Friends, Peabody	ditto
Schooner John, Andrews	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 1, 1789.

Port of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Schooner Sally, Saunders	Cape-Francois
Schooner Nancy, Stone	Cape de Verd
Cleared.	for
Brig St. John, Slewman	Bristol
Brig Ranger, Chipman	Westindies
Schooner Betsey, Tucker	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 8, 1789.

Port of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Schooner Two Brothers, Perkins	Isle of Rea
Schooner Two Brothers, Roche	Trinidad
Cleared.	for
Brig Eliza, Hosmer	Westindies
Brig Dispatch, Briggs	ditto
Brig Favourite, Neal	ditto
Brig Cicero, Lovet	ditto
Schooner Nancy, Pratt	ditto
Schooner Hope, Wellman	ditto
Schooner Nancy, Stone	Bilboa
Schooner Pilgrim, Harrington	Novascotia

Ship News

"Arrived at Boston, brig Port-Roseway, Capt. James Wishart, in 8 days from Shelburne, 29th ult. spoke a topsail schooner out 36 hours from Salem, bound to the West-Indies, 38 leagues from Cape-Ann."

"On Wednesday last arrived here the schooner Two Brothers, Capt. Perkins, from France, spoke the brig A, B, C, John Frankford, from James River, Virginia, in lat. 44, 30; long. 53, twelve days out, bound to London, all well."

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 15, 1789.

Ship News

"Last Friday, the schooner Polly, Capt. Proctor, arrived here from Cadiz. . . ."

[There follows an account of Capt. Proctor's capture and release by Moorish cruisers.]

Port of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Schooner Polly, Sinclair	St. Eustatia
Schooner Polly, Proctor	Cadiz

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 22, 1789.

Salem, September 22. "Captains Bowditch, Henfield and Dean, all of this port, have arrived from Bristol, since our last."

Port of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Schooner Speed, Smith	Aux Cayes
Schooner Eunice, Stone	St. Martin's
Schooner Polly & Sally, Bowditch	Bristol
Schooner Nabby, Ives	Isle of May
Schooner Nancy, Thorndike	W. Indies

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, September 29, 1789.

Ship News

"Sunday arrived the ship Dauphin, Capt. Osgood, from India, but last from Croisic in France, from which she had a passage of 48 days. . . ."

"Capt. Samuel Derby arrived on Sunday from Ostend."

District of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Ship Dauphin, Osgood	Croisic
Schooner Dispatch, Townsend	St. Bartholomew
Schooner Polly, Felt	St. Eustatia
Cleared.	for
Brig Lark, Webb	Westindies
Schooner Betsey, Kinsman	ditto

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, October 6, 1789.

Ship News

"Capt. Osgood, in his passage from France, on the 15th August, lat. 46 N. long. 9 W. spoke the brig Polly, Capt. Bailey, of Newburyport, from Virginia bound to l'Orient."

"Capt. Munday arrived from the C. de Verds, which he left the 7th Aug. . . ."

"Capt. Dennis, of this port, arrived at Baltimore the 18th ult."

District of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Schooner Cicero, Barr	Cape-Francois
Cleared.	for
Ship Nancy, Derby	Baltimore
Brig Leopard, Woodberry	Virginia
Schooner Lively, Brown	Westindies
Schooner Sally, Burdett	Senegal

From: *The Salem Mercury*, Tuesday, October 13, 1789.
Ship News

"On Friday last, a fishing schooner arrived, . . . "

"Extract of a letter from Petersburg (Russia) dated July 13, 1789.

' . . . Capt. Peter Lander, of Salem, arrived here the day before we did.'"

"Last week arrived at Providence, Capt. Coffin, in 50 days from L'Orient. On the 30th of August, in sight of the Western Islands, Capt. Coffin spoke a brig, Wallace, Master, from Lisbon, bound to Salem, 15 days out."

"Capt. Hammond arrived at Beverly, yesterday, in a schooner, from Liverpool in England . . . last from Ireland, in 40 days."

"Capts. Tapan (of Newburyport), Symonds and Foster, of this port, were at Petersburg, Russia, 20th July, to sail in about 20 days."

District of Salem and Beverly.

Entered.	from
Schooner Lucy, Munday	Cape de Verd
Cleared.	for
Schooner Polly, Strout	W. Indies
Schooner Polly, Ives	Senegal
Schooner Two Sisters, Very	Northcarolina
Sloop Sally, Chever	W. Indies

LETTER FROM RICHARD CRANCH TO
DR. COTTON TUFTS OF WEYMOUTH.

Salem Aug. 8th 1766.

My very dear Friend

I recd your kind Favour of the 4th Inst. and thank you for your friendly Enquiries about my Health &c— I think I have my Health rather better than when I liv'd at Germantown, the fitts of the Asthma not being so long, nor so severe; but this Season (dog days) is bad for my Disorder.

I long for an Oportunity to pass a few social hours again with the beloved Circle at Weymouth, but can't yet tell when it will be. our Hearts, however, are often there.

As I have but a few moments to spare at present from my dear Friends, John & Wife,¹ I must postpone writing more at large for the present.

I have enclos'd Mr. Dodge's Note, and desire you to give me Cr. in your Acct. for so much recd. toward the Ballc. I ow'd you. Please to give our Duty to Father & Mother, and our affectionate Regards to Mrs. Tufts & Sister Betsy, and believe us to be your most Affectionate Friends

R. Cranch & Wife.

When you see the Coll. and Lady, please to give our Duty to them, and tell them we have seen Mr. Fiske several times, who desires to be remembered to them in the kindest manner—He is well and in high Spirits as any youth of five & twenty.

We should be glad you would remember us to old Mr. Foord & Wife when you see them, and let us know how the old Gentleman holds out.

For particulars about our Familly &c. we refer you to the Bearers.

Superscription: "To Cotton Tufts, Esqr. in Weymouth. Pr. favr. of Mr. Adams."

—*Essex Institute Autograph Collection.*

¹ Richard Cranch and John Adams, the future President, married sisters. Cranch was a watchmaker and local justice. While riding the Eastern Circuit, John Adams often passed through Salem, stopping with "brother" Cranch at the so-called "Ruck house."

BOOK REVIEWS.

ELIZABETH LLOYD AND THE WHITTIER. A Budget of Letters Edited by Thomas Franklin Currier. 1939. 146 pp., small octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price \$3.00.

Mr. Currier, whose recent bibliography of Whittier, entitles him to the distinction of being the greatest authority on the Quaker poet, has brought out a small volume full of interesting correspondence between the Whittiers and Elizabeth Lloyd. When Whittier went to Philadelphia in 1838, to edit the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, his cousins, the Wendells, were living there, having moved from Dover, N. H., to engage in the textile business. Through them he became acquainted with a group of interesting young ladies, all Quakers, among whom was Elizabeth Lloyd. She wrote some good verse and in many ways was a congenial spirit,—when he was thirty-one. and she, twenty-seven. Mr. Currier writes, “a careful reading of the letters here printed and of other documents has not given any reason to believe that they had, at this time, any serious thoughts of becoming engaged.” Elizabeth married, and in three years was a widow. There is some intimation that their friendship was renewed, and marriage seriously discussed and rejected. The letters in this volume are from the Harvard College Library, Mrs. Dun’s private collection, and the Oak Knoll Collection at the Essex Institute. In an age when so much has been written of Whittier’s “loves”, it is refreshing to have the facts, substantiated by contemporary documents, presented by one whose deductions are accurate and worthwhile. All libraries having collections of New England poetry will order this book.

THE LOG CABIN MYTH. A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America. By Harold R. Shurtleff. Edited with an Introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison. 1939. 243 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$2.50.

If, as it is claimed, nine out of ten Americans firmly believe that all Colonial pioneers lived in log cabins, it is high time that someone came forward to disabuse the public of

such a belief,—and Mr. Shurtleff performed this service just before his death. This posthumous work has been ably edited and amplified by Harvard's distinguished historian, Professor Morison, and is now presented in readable form, and is so convincing that it is hoped the "myth" will be consigned for all time to wherever bad myths go. This belief originated from a statement made by a Boston historian during the "log cabin" presidential campaign of 1840, in which it was claimed that the Pilgrim Fathers' first houses were log cabins. Mr. Shurtleff found no trace of log cabins in any of the North American colonies in the seventeenth century outside New Sweden on the Delaware, and he covered the whole country from Newfoundland to Carolina. Dr. Fiske Kimball was the first effective challenger of the myth in 1927, and George Francis Dow, in his development of the "Pioneers' Village" in Salem in 1930, was a dominant factor in acquainting the public with what seventeenth century houses of New England looked like. The volume contains many interesting illustrations of house construction in this country and Europe during this early period, adding much to the value of this work. The *Log Cabin Myth* should be in every library in this country, not only because it "debunks" this hundred-year-old legend, but because it provides a sure guide for the organizers of historical pageants, for those who would reconstruct early houses, and for illustrators.

THOREAU. By Henry Seidel Canby. With illustrations. 1939. 508 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price \$3.75.

Fast on the heels of the Alcott biography, this life of Thoreau gives us a new evaluation of another Concord sage. The author has spent years of study on the subject and there is no hesitation in saying that he has produced, not only the best biography that has been written of this distinguished American of the nineteenth century, but a biography so full of meat that no future historian will attempt another. Thoreau was an enigma to his closest friends. He was a graduate of Harvard, where he studied Greek under Jones Very, the Salem poet, who taught him "how to write a sentence that was not a rhetorical arrangement of words, but an arrow from the bow of the imagination, barbed, feathered, aimed, quivering, made for the target." As an interpretation of the thoughts and feelings of this man who lived so

close to nature, of his loves, of his writings, and of his relations with Emerson and the other Concord philosophers, this book bears testimony to the fact that Mr. Canby has done his work superlatively well. Excursions to various parts of the country were visited by Thoreau to some extent, but Concord was his first and only interest, and the scene of his greatest literary success. The author considers that Thoreau was perhaps the best of many American examples of the creative artist and thinker in search of a career in a country and an era dominantly materialistic in its estimate of success and its offer of a livelihood. Thoreau's whole life was a search for a career. Channing called him "a Yankee Pan in the woods of New England." The Thoreaus were French from the Channel Islands, and came to Boston about the time of the Revolution. Henry's father learned "storekeeping" in Salem and finally settled in Concord, where he manufactured lead pencils, which became the first real rivals of the European product. Henry's maternal grandfather was Rev. Asa Dunbar, a graduate of Harvard, who, at the time of the Revolution, was a colleague pastor of Rev. Thomas Barnard, of the First Church of Salem. Thoreau often visited in Salem, and gave at least one of his lectures here. This volume is strongly recommended to all libraries.

TORTURED CHINA. By Hallett Abend. 1932. 305 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Ives Washburn. Price \$3.00.

CAN CHINA SURVIVE? By Hallett Abend and Anthony J. Billingham. 1936. 317 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc. Price \$3.00.

CHAOS IN CHINA. By Hallett Abend. 1939. 313 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc. Price \$3.00.

Mr. Abend, who has been the Far East correspondent of the *New York Times* for more than thirteen years, can be depended upon to give an accurate picture of China in its domestic and foreign relations. Since the first of this series was published, picturing the terrible suffering, absolute poverty and crying need of more than four hundred million people, his statements have been widely read and his prophecies have been uncannily accurate. They have helped Americans to understand what was happening on the other side of the Pacific. In *Can China Survive?* the authors emphasize the bitter rivalry between the Nanking and Canton

authorities and how the Japanese play one against the other in order to gain control, but they also give Japan's reasons for her actions and how she is conducting herself in North China. His latest, *Chaos in China*, gives first-hand knowledge of the activities of the past year. Since he knows personally the leaders of both the Chinese and Japanese governments, his long residence in Shanghai enables him to analyze brilliantly what is going on behind the scenes. His thrilling accounts of happenings in Shanghai will be read with intense interest. Mr. Abend is already gathering material for a biography of Frederick Townsend Ward, the Salem adventurer and hero of the Taiping Rebellion, which will be published next year, and eagerly awaited by Essex County readers.

RELIGION ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1783-1850. Vol. III. The Congregationalists. A Collection of Source Material. By William Warren Sweet. 1939. 435 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Price \$3.00.

This is the third volume of source material relating to the religious forces which influenced the frontier after the Revolution. In previous volumes, the author has treated the Baptists and Presbyterians in the same manner. Hitherto unpublished material obtained from the churches and ministers of that region, but especially from the records of the American Home Missionary Society and also from the Indian missions carried on by the American Board for Foreign Missions has been used. Of particular interest is a map showing the westward migration of the people of New England into lands north of the Ohio between 1820 and 1850. A portion of the autobiography of Flavel Bascom, a graduate of Yale in 1828, and a well-known missionary in the western region, is a valuable narrative of pioneer life in Illinois. Since it will be remembered that, at the close of the Revolution, the Congregationalists were the most numerous as well as the most influential religious body in America, in educational and cultural leadership, this new book is of historical value.

WHITE SAILS CROWDING. By Edmund Gilligan. 1939. 360 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price \$2.50.

This is said to be the first novel ever written by an Ameri-

can about the old days of the Yankee fishing. It is a stirring tale of the Gloucester fishermen on a winter voyage to the Grand Banks, and the hero was a Cambridge law student who sought adventure in deep-water fishing and certainly got it. Of interest to all lovers of the sea.

AMERICA'S OLD MASTERS. First Artists of the New World.

By James Thomas Flexner. 1939. 332 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Viking Press, Inc. Price \$3.75.

This recent volume treats of the life and works of four distinguished American artists—Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley, Charles Willson Peale and Gilbert Stuart. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a school of great painters was developed in this country, beginning with these four boys, isolated from one another in provincial settlements, who began to draw and paint under ill-trained craftsmen. At least two of these men later outstripped their teachers. This book is dedicated to history, not art criticism; to biography, not the evaluation of pictures. There are thirty-five beautiful illustrations. Recommended to all historical and art libraries.

FOLK SONGS OF OLD NEW ENGLAND. Collected and Edited by Eloise Hubbard Linscott. With an Introduction by James M. Carpenter. 1939. 337 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price \$5.00.

The author of this truly important book is a native of Taunton, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Radcliffe College. She has spent the past fifteen years in collecting Yankee folk music that has come down through the generations, with the text and tunes preserved in oral tradition. Part I contains singing games, transcribed from the players; Part II is devoted to the country dance; Part III, to sea chanteys; and Part IV includes ballads, folk songs and ditties. Many of the tunes have never before been recorded and several of the songs never before collected. Every melody in the book is sung today as it was generations ago. Every dance is danced, and most of the games are played. The songs are representative of all New England and it is a great contribution that Mrs. Linscott has made to the knowledge of folk-songs of the country. This book will meet with a ready sale.

HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE BRIGGS FAMILY, 1254-1937. In three Volumes. By L. Vernon Briggs. 1938. 1247 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Charles E. Goodspeed & Co. Privately printed.

Like the Cabot Genealogy, which Dr. Briggs compiled and published a few years ago, this new work is almost overwhelming in its completeness. It is safe to say that everything that can be found both in England and America, relating to the Briggs and allied families of the South Shore of Massachusetts, has been gathered into these three volumes. The author has traced the ancestry of Walter Briggs, the emigrant, to the Briggs family whose seat was in Salle in Norfolk, and through great diligence over many years, has discovered his line back to the thirteenth century. A special feature of the genealogy is the wealth of fine illustrations, not only family portraits but houses having a related interest. The tremendous amount of biographical material adds much to the value of the work, and the complete index is a delight. Strongly recommended to all historical and genealogical libraries.

THE SNOW-ESTES ANCESTRY. Two volumes. By Nora E. Snow, Author and Publisher. Compiled by Myrtle M. Jillson. 1939. 667 + 439 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Hillburn, New York: Privately printed.

This genealogy is a distinct addition to any library, presenting as it does the descendants of two old New England families. The Snows settled in Woburn in the seventeenth century and married into many Essex County families, from which place they scattered to other parts of the country. The Estes were a prominent Quaker family of Salem and vicinity, many of whom were later found in Rhode Island and Connecticut. Considerable space is given to allied families, and particular mention should be made of authentic English and American connections. Each volume has a complete index. Recommended to all genealogical libraries.

RECORDS of the Congregational Church, Franklin, Connecticut, 1718-1860, and a Record of Deaths in Norwich Eighth Society 1762, 1778, 1782, 1784-1802. 1938. 128 pp., octavo, cloth, map. Hartford: Published by the Society of Mayflower Descendants and the Society of the Founders of Norwich. Price \$3.25.

These records were compiled from a copy of the original which was made by a distinguished Connecticut historian, Edwin A. Hill, many years ago. The original records are now missing, and for that reason it was thought important to save this information by publishing. A full index is given.

AMERICAN CAVALCADE. A Memoir on the Life and Family of Dewitt Clinton Poole. By John Hudson Poole. 1939. 350 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. Pasadena, California: Privately printed.

This is an interesting narrative of the life and times of one of the early nineteenth century pioneers from New York state to the Middle West, and includes the genealogy of his ancestors and descendants. His service in the Civil War and in the Regular Army during the Indian uprisings, is told at length. The book is well printed, with fine portraits of the family,—some in colors—and has been arranged under the supervision of Miss Winifred L. Holman of Boston.

AMERICAN PORTRAITS, 1620-1825, Found in Massachusetts. 2 vols. 1939. 573 pp., quarto, paper. Boston, Massachusetts: The Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration.

Much credit should be given to the Historical Records Survey for this production. Gathered together in usable form is a list, with description, of nearly three thousand portraits, mainly in public and private libraries, and museums, but also including a number in private hands. The work has been done under the supervision of Carl J. Wennerblad, State Supervisor, with the assistance of Charles Knowles Bolton, well-known authority on American portraiture, who writes the Introduction. The Survey has sought to issue an accurate, useful aid to persons whose research carries them into the fields of history, especially the history of art, and into biography and genealogy. Recommended to all libraries.

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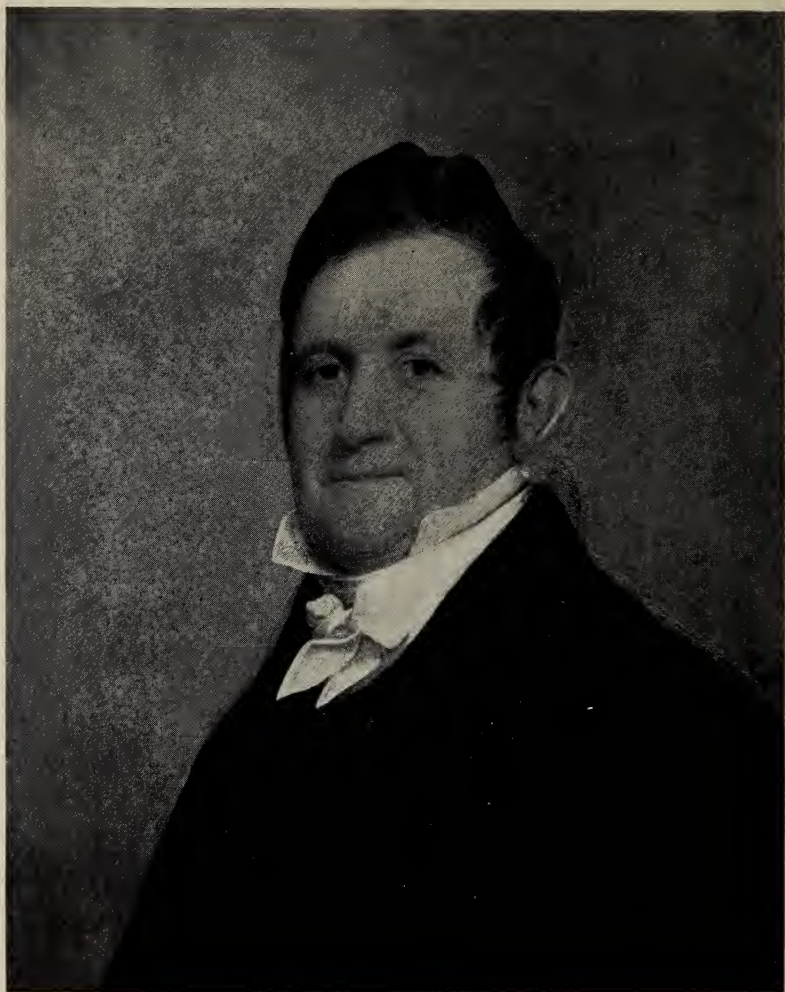
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD WATERS

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CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS

1764 - 1838

From a portrait by Frothingham in possession of Stephen Willard Phillips

ESSEX INSTITUTE

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VOL. LXXVI

APRIL, 1940

No. 2

CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS, 1764-1838.

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS.

The life of Captain Stephen Phillips almost exactly coincided with what was undoubtedly the most interesting period of American history. He was born just after the French were expelled from America and spent his childhood in those happy prosperous years just before the Revolution. He was old enough to enjoy the excitement of the increasing tension of the conflict, not old enough to realize the seriousness of the situation. He experienced the gruelling poverty of Marblehead during the war and took his share of the starving and shivering with the rest. He went to sea very young and undoubtedly knew the glamour and bitter hardships of privateering.

He learned the art of the shipmaster while most boys nowadays are fitting for college, was an officer and soon master of the earliest Derby ships in India. He knew Calcutta and Cape Town, the Isle de France, Bordeaux, Cadiz, Naples and Hamburg better than most Americans of today know Minneapolis and New Orleans. Later he owned ships and sent them to all parts of the world, Hawaii and the Philippines, India and Canton as well as Europe.

SALEM AS IT WAS IN HIS LIFETIME

When he moved to Salem neither the Custom House nor the Town House nor Hamilton Hall nor the South Church had been built. They were all built in his lifetime. The common was a swamp and so was Chestnut Street. He saw the Common drained and levelled and

surrounded with beautiful mansions. During his lifetime Chestnut Street was both laid out and completed substantially as it now is.

He observed the struggle to bring good water into the town through pipes made of logs with a hole drilled through them and the first iron pipes were laid just a year or two before his death.¹ Most houses of the finer sort had risen to the luxury of a faucet of running water in the kitchen but water closets were unknown and tile bathrooms not even a dream of the future. The whale oil lamp had not even been replaced by kerosene, far less by electricity. Wood was the universal fuel though a few experiments were being made with coal stoves as wood was getting scarce and expensive and had to be brought from the Maine coast by schooners. The captain's house on Chestnut Street was always heated, if at all, by open fireplaces.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION IN HIS TIME

A long causeway and bridge crossed the estuary of North River to the North Fields and it was possible to get to South Fields across the Mill Dam at the foot of High Street but there was no way to get to Beverly except by ferry and the only route out of the city was really via Boston Street. The Essex Bridge to Beverly and the Lafayette Street Bridge were both finished in his lifetime and the completion of the Boston Turnpike put Salem on the through route eastward.

As he had witnessed the upbuilding of the great stage companies from before the Revolution, so he lived to see the completion of the Eastern Railroad to Salem and hear perhaps the address of his son, then the member of Congress from the city, at the formal opening which occurred just two months before he died.

Communication as we know it was far in the future. Another generation was to pass away before the first telephone bell tinkled and a good many years before the first telegrapher learned the Morse Code. Mails to Europe

¹ C. M. Endecott: Salem & Danvers Aqueduct, E. I. H. C., ii, 105.

more closely approximated modern service than any other communication, for ships went often and many voyages were made in less than three weeks. That certainly compared more favorably with the present time of perhaps a week than the five and ten day service to New York and Washington compares with the same service of a few hours today.

The stage service between Salem and Boston was as good or better than any in the country. There were about ten stages a day each way in 1830,² including the through stages to Maine which stopped en route, but the great turnpikes were all built after 1800. The most wonderful system of transportation which Salem had during the most active part of the Captain's lifetime was its overseas lines. If you desired to visit any port on the coast from Halifax to Charleston a vessel would be leaving before very long. A direct ship to Cape of Good Hope, Canton, Manila, Batavia or Calcutta was available eight or ten times a year at least. There was no port in the West Indies to which almost monthly service could not be obtained and frequent sailings to South American ports from Surinam to Buenos Aires were available. Capetown, Zanzibar and Arabia could be reached several times each year. During his later years Honolulu and the Fiji Islands were always attainable and if you made it worth a captain's while he would land you on any island of the South Seas.

GREW UP IN MARBLEHEAD

Captain Stephen was born November 13, 1764 in the old house on Washington Street at the head of Darling Street in Marblehead which had been built fifty or more years before by his grandfather Jonathan. He was the eldest son but the sixth child of Deacon Stephen Phillips and his wife Elizabeth Elkins. No family papers or letters are extant so we must rely largely on the general records of the town to conjecture what his boyhood was like. There was a school in Marblehead and he learned to read and write but how much else he learned we do not

² Bradlee: Eastern Railroad, E. I. H. C., Lii, 248.

know. The few letters of his still in existence³ show he wrote a clear legible hand and his signature was an excellent one.

His father, the Deacon, no doubt saw to it that he regularly attended the First Church in Marblehead and listened to the sermons of Rev. William Whitwell. He may even have remembered the famous John Barnard who was pastor of the church for fifty-five years and died when the Captain was six years old. He perhaps heard the sermon that Mr. Whitwell preached the Sunday after Dr. Barnard's funeral on the text, "Well done, good and faithful servant . . . enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Mr. Whitwell laid down the logic of this text most clearly. The children of men are entrusted with various talents, some are faithful in the improvement of these talents, others are not, all are accountable and the faithful will be rewarded and the wicked punished. It was strong doctrine not much tempered with the milk of human kindness but it bred a strong race of men who admitted that they themselves were responsible for their conduct and success in life and did not try to shed the burden on others. The printed copy of Mr. Whitwell's Discourse still in the family shows the effect of much diligent reading. Whether the Captain heard this sermon or not, no one could ever claim that he tried to escape the solemn warning of Dr. Barnard which Mr. Whitwell quoted, "I solemnly protest unto you that if there should be any of you (which God forbid) who after all the pains that have been taken with you to instruct and counsel and warn you, that shall be found at the last to have refused to believe the reports of the gospel to receive Jesus Christ, the Lord, into your hearts by faith and live in obedience to him I am free from the blood of all men! Your blood be upon your own heads!" The Captain was a member of the Congregational church all his life but later of the liberal Unitarian wing of the church.

BOYHOOD DURING THE REVOLUTION

It is probable that of either religious or secular education, he had little enough, for the war drew on rapidly

³ See Derby MS. *Recovery* at Hamburg, E. I.

as he became an active boy. He was eleven years old when Colonel Leslie landed with his regiment in Marblehead for his raid on Salem and no doubt rushed to the line of march like any other live boy. He saw the red coats march out in triumph and return to their transport in dejection but little did he probably realize that this was the beginning of a bloody war.

Even had he wished to, he was too young to have joined the minute men then organizing in the town but the lanes of Marblehead all led down to the sea and, as the war began to take on a naval aspect for the seacoast towns, he was drawn to that side of the contest. When John Paul Jones was collecting that "orderly and well disciplined crew of one hundred and forty odd" in October, 1777, to take the *Ranger* to France, the boy got near enough to going to be considered and finally rejected because he had not reached his thirteenth birthday! It was a bitter disappointment, and fifty years afterwards, he told his grandson that it was the great disappointment of his life. But the war lasted six years more and it is not conceivable that a young man of his tastes failed to take his turn at privateering when privateers were sailing almost daily from Marblehead or Salem. There are few records of the crews of the privateers and no family papers to show what privateers if any he may have sailed on but he must have been at sea, for otherwise he could not have gained enough nautical experience to have been in command of ships belonging to Mr. Derby so soon after the war closed. It must be remembered that he had no influence with the house of Derby. He was just another good faithful seaman looking for advancement because he was better than others. There was no cabin window for him to crawl through and he had neither money nor influence.

AN OFFICER IN THE DERBY FLEET

There is a record in the family (S. H. Phillips' notes) that he was a second or third mate on the ship *Friendship* which entered from Port au Prince, Oct. 10, 1783, under Gideon Henfield,⁴ who was one of Mr. Derby's captains

⁴ Entrances copied from Salem papers, H. N. O.

and had commanded the privateer *Centipede* during the war. Perhaps Stephen Phillips had been in his crew when she sailed in August, 1779, two years after his dis-appointment on the *Ranger*. Captain Henfield went from her to the *Griffin* and in October, 1780, was put in command of the famous Derby privateer *Roebuck* when she sailed on her last ill-fated cruise to be captured just a week out of Salem. Her crew spent the rest of the war in Mill prison.⁵

Stephen Phillips was never in Mill prison so he could not have been on the *Roebuck*, for there her crew went, unless they were willing to serve in the British navy, but he may have been on the *Centipede* or the *Griffin*. The *Friendship* sailed first as a privateer in November, 1782 under Captain Henfield. Anyway, judging from his record after 1793 there can be little doubt that Phillips was steadily at sea during the ten years before but mates do not appear on clearance papers and there are few lists of crews.

For a brief period he emerges as mate of Mr. Derby's fine ship *Atlantic*, Henry Elkins, master, which cleared for the Isle of France on September 8, 1788 and went on to Bombay. She was long thought to have been the first American ship to show the American flag in India. It appears, however, that the *United States* of Philadelphia, Thomas Bell, master, had proceeded to Madras from Mauritius whither he had cleared from America arriving after Christmas in 1784. Also the *Hydra*, a converted British frigate with a somewhat dubious American registry, had arrived from London in 1785.⁶ Other ships followed, but it is entirely possible that the *Atlantic* made the first appearance at some of the Indian ports. The *Atlantic* took provisions to the Isle of France where Elias Hasket Derby, jr. was temporarily located as agent for his father. He sent the *Atlantic* on to Bombay to load cotton and blackwood for Canton which port she reached in October, 1789. There she was sold for \$6,600 and

⁵ Allen's *Privateers*, 266; Widger: *Diary at Mill Prison*, E. I. H. C., lxxiii, 313.

⁶ See N. E. Quat., June, 1938, pp. 235-242.



BRIG "SUKEY," BUILT AT FALMOUTH, 1795, CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS, OWNER

From a water-color in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem

her crew returned on the *Light Horse* or the *Astrea*.⁷ Returning as passenger may seem like a dull life and no doubt was but he may have served as a junior officer.

The *Astrea* and the *Light Horse* were very valuable ships and their arrival was awaited with interest. They sailed together from Whampoa Reach on January 22, 1790, and the *Astrea* reached Salem June 1, 1790, but there was no word of the *Light Horse* till she drifted toward Marblehead Neck on a falling wind in the afternoon of June 15th, and was forced to anchor. In the night a heavy gale blew up and she began to drag toward shore in the morning. Mr. Derby hurried from Salem in his postchaise and all the people of Marblehead gathered expecting to see her driven ashore. No doubt the Captain's father, the old deacon, was present especially if the *Astrea's* people had reported that his son was on board the imperilled ship. At the last gasp, however, the anchors held, the storm abated and the valuable ship was brought into Salem.

STEPHEN PHILLIPS BECOMES A SHIP MASTER

What the Captain did during the next two years is not recorded, but he probably sailed as mate on other important ships to the Far East, to western European ports and probably also to the Baltic, for when the brig *Rose* cleared for Hamburg on July 5, 1793, she was under the command of Captain Stephen Phillips, who at the age of 29 was going out into a turbulent world with his own command. On September 29 he was still in Hamburg⁸ but where he went next is a question, for the following May he entered from Montserrat, still in the brig *Rose*, with sugar and oil, a substantial part of which belonged to him, which showed he was already working toward the status of a merchant. At this point, also, he was promoted to a larger vessel, for he took the ketch *Eliza* to Spain July 11 and entered again from Bordeaux arriving in Salem on November 24, bringing an important

⁷ Peabody: Merchant Venturers, 79-93; Putnam: Salem Vessels and Their Voyages, iii, 9; Salem *Mercury*, Jan. 22, 1788.

⁸ Derby MSS at E. I.

package of news about the French Revolution.⁹ It would appear, therefore, that between July 5, 1793 and December 1, 1794, he had made a round trip to Hamburg, a trip to Montserrat in the West Indies and a round trip to Spain and Bordeaux. The reputation which the Captain had for keeping his ships going was evidently acquired early.

The ketch *Eliza* was a bigger ship than the little *Rose* and she was hardly home from Europe when three days before Christmas she left on the long, long trail for the East Indies. Dr. Bentley says in his diary,¹⁰ "Capt Phillips in the Ketch *Eliza* sailed for India and to him I committed the letters for the Consul etc. His vessel is said to be a fast sailer and there were many to observe her as she went to sea." She did not belie her reputation. In May, 1795, she had reached Calcutta and her miscellaneous cargo was being sold and on October 8, nine months and sixteen days after sailing, she was back in Salem with 240,000 pounds of sugar, \$10,000 worth of merchandise, probably cloth, and, strange to say, 1,372 pairs of shoes.

After forty days at home he was off again still in command of the *Eliza* for Pegu, which probably meant almost anywhere in Burma, but he was auctioning off his cargo in Calcutta in May, and by June 10, 1796, was at sea again. He was back in Salem on September 20.

This time he was on shore about two months, a dangerously long time for a gay young bachelor who had resisted all temptation so far, who was known to be a favorite of Mr. Derby and sure of promotion and who was suspected of having accumulated a nice little fortune already.

He was now thirty-two years old and like most of the family had been far too much engrossed in the things he had to do to think much about the ladies, but I do not believe that the handsome and energetic captain of one of the finest ships of the Derby fleet had escaped the bright eyes of the little Salem girls as he came and went with

⁹ Salem Gazette, Nov. 25, 1794.

¹⁰ Bentley, ii, 117.

his big ships. If his portrait by Roux is a likeness, he must also have been good to look at and taken all in all was what the girls might consider a "catch."

ENTER DORCAS WOODBRIDGE

Down in a brick house which still stands on Charter street lived Dudley Woodbridge, the descendant of a distinguished line of Essex County people. His great grandfather, Rev. John Woodbridge, who was the emigrant, came from Wiltshire and was the first minister of the church in Andover. He married Mercy Dudley, the daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, and their son was the Reverend Benjamin of Haverhill, who married Mary Ward, a granddaughter of the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam." Their son, Captain Benjamin, started the Salem branch of the family when he married Mary Osgood, daughter of Deacon Peter Osgood, who figured so prominently in the First Church quarrel with Rev. Samuel Fiske. They settled down in Salem in 1715 and their family grew up here. Dudley was the youngest of nine children and the third to be named Dudley, the two older ones having died in infancy. He was a merchant, a patriotic member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Revolution, owned shares in some privateers and was generally a leading man in the town. He married Dorcas March, the daughter of a line of Indian fighters from Newbury which began with Hugh March, one of the founders of the town. There is a strong suspicion that the name of Dorcas came from the daughter or daughter-in-law of the pirate Blackleach whom Hugh married!

And so we come to Dorcas Woodbridge, who at the age of twenty-two, which shows she was a bit particular also, attracted the critical eye of Captain Stephen and that may account for the two months he spent ashore. Tradition says that Dorcas was pretty and energetic and intelligent and winsome, but not a picture of her or even a line of her handwriting has come down to us. Anyway the personal appearance of the family has not deteriorated since Dorcas contributed her share. Whether she had

pledged her heart and hand to the Captain before he sailed away on the long voyage to Burma and Calcutta no one will ever know, but that voyage was made in fast time and Dorcas may have been the charming prize quietly waiting while the Captain drove his ship on through fair weather and foul around the Cape of Good Hope and back to Salem. The *Eliza* arrived September 27 and on October 6, 1796, they were married. No account of their wedding has been handed down, but she was probably married quietly at her father's home as church weddings were unknown in Salem then.

There is very little available about Dorcas Woodbridge. The family record says she was born on April 1, 1774¹¹ and no doubt grew up during the hard period of the Revolution, but was too young to realize the hardships. She had several brothers and sisters and so enjoyed the same childhood as all the other children of her time. Her parents were sufficiently well-to-do so she had the usual advantages and certainly learned how to read and write and all the other simple accomplishments of young ladies. Her father owned a mansion house, wharf, several buildings and several lots down on Bridge Street¹² when he died October 21, 1799.¹³

VOYAGES TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE AND BORDEAUX

Little time did the debonaire young captain and his gentle bride have for honeymooning nor was the separation just for a month or two. Forty-five days after the wedding the Captain waved farewell from the quarterdeck of the *Eliza* bound for India and ten months was a quick voyage. The *Eliza* did not go to India, however, and in March and April, 1797, she was trading at the Isle of France. Why he did not go on is not clear, unless we assume he was doing good business there and did not think it worth while. He landed \$11,200 of goods which he sold for \$20,900 and bought \$8,800 worth which he took back to Salem in the shape of 101,370 pounds of

¹¹ Diary of Mary Vial Holyoke says April 6, 1774, Holyoke Diaries, 82.

¹² Bentley, ii, 469.

¹³ Bentley, ii, 322.

sugar, 3,250 pounds of coffee, 1,983 pounds of indigo and 1,941 pounds of cotton. On July 18, 1797, the *Eliza* was back in Salem but not for long. By the end of August she was off for Bordeaux with most of her goods from the Isle of France. She arrived in France in October, left as promptly as possible and reached Salem again December 20.

On this last trip we know who went on board for she had a passport for the whole crew: Captain Stephen Phillips, 31(?); Benjamin Swett, 21 years, mate; William Putnam, 21, second mate; Israel Berry, 21, third mate; eight seamen and a cook.¹⁴ Whoever made out the certificate got the Captain's age wrong, for he was really thirty-three, but that was probably not important and some clerk perhaps guessed at it.

PROMOTED TO THE KETCH *JOHN*

The Captain had been in command of the *Eliza* for three years. He had made two round trips to India, one to the Isle of France and two to Europe, all without serious mishaps and he was due for promotion. The *Eliza* was 184 tons and carried thirteen men; he was now advanced to the ketch *John* of 258 tons and fifteen men, one of the larger ships of the Derby fleet. Previously she had been commanded by John Derby, was later rigged over as a ship and still later, as a privateer in the War of 1812; she carried sixteen guns and over one hundred men.¹⁵

It was late in December, 1797, when the Captain came in from Bordeaux in the *Eliza* and he seems to have stayed on shore longer than usual, for he did not sail in the ketch *John* till May 26, 1798. She cleared for Cadiz, but that covered almost any port south of Cape Finis-terre. Probably the reason why the Captain did not get away earlier was because the *John* had been captured by a French privateer on her way back from the Isle of France and sent to Porto Rico, but was recaptured by an English frigate and carried into Tortola. The Eng-

¹⁴ Derby MS, E. I.

¹⁵ Salem Ship Registers, 99.

lish claimed an exorbitant amount for the recapture—nearly one quarter of her valuable cargo—which Mr. Derby had to pay.¹⁶ Episodes like this did not leave the Salem merchants cold.

THE BUILDING OF THE *ESSEX*

On June 30, 1798, an act was passed authorizing the President to accept not over twelve ships which citizens might build for the government and pay for them in 6% scrip, as the treasury was empty after the *Constitution*, *Constellation* and *United States* had been built and the rate was 8% on government loans, but loyal citizens at once started subscriptions in many of the commercial cities like Salem, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Newburyport, Baltimore and Norfolk. Salem's subscription list was opened about the middle of July and by the middle of October over \$74,000 had been subscribed. Mr. Derby and William Gray, jr. gave \$10,000 apiece, there were ten subscriptions between \$5,000 and \$1,000 and eleven more who gave \$1,000, among whom was Capt. Stephen Phillips. There were about one hundred in all out of a total population of about nine thousand. The subscriptions were paid in before October, which would imply that Captain Stephen must have been in Salem during that time. The *Essex* turned out to be a frigate of 860 tons and was launched September 30, 1799 with great enthusiasm before a crowd of twelve thousand people.¹⁷ She carried twenty-six 12-pounders and ten 6-pounders. Captain Richard Derby was to have been her commander, but as he was absent in Europe Capt. Edward Preble was assigned to the command. He was familiar with Essex County affairs, although a native of Portland, Maine, because he had been educated at Governor Dummer Academy.

The *Essex* was the first American warship to go beyond the Cape of Good Hope and convoyed some merchantmen home, arriving on November 29, 1800. She was in

¹⁶ Derby MSS Letters, XV, 86, Essex Inst.; Hunt's American Merchants, ii, 82.

¹⁷ Bentley, ii, 319.

the first squadron sent in 1802 to menace the Barbary pirates. After a distinguished career she was captured in the Bay of Valparaiso in March, 1814, by two British ships after a bloody fight.¹⁸ Her long and distinguished career is not part of our present story.

THE CAPTAIN TRADES WITH NELSON'S FLEET

Whether the Captain was back in Salem in the *John* from Cadiz to pay his subscription to the *Essex* or paid it by attorney, he was certainly in Naples in November, 1798, and there he found Lord Nelson's victorious fleet just back from the Battle of the Nile and sold most of his cargo to the officers of the fleet. One has a feeling that he was more likely to have exchanged his New England cargo of, perhaps, salt codfish at Cadiz for Spanish wines and come on to Naples than to have gone home for more codfish which never appealed to English palates. Any-way he was paid by the officers with good drafts on London which he promptly sent to Lane & Fraser, Mr. Derby's agents in London for collection.¹⁹

The return voyage was not so happy. Outside the Straits of Gibraltar he struck a violent storm, probably the "mistral" of which those who have experienced them at that particular spot fully know the violence. The ketch was thrown on her beam ends, lost her masts and tiller and was driven at the mercy of the storm.²⁰ Her mate, William Pickman, son of William Pickman, Esq. of Salem, and two hands were washed overboard,²¹ but the Captain got her into Lisbon in a battered condition, where she was refitted and reached Salem safely March 22, 1799.

It is an interesting coincidence that in the same week of the Captain's disaster, his uncle, Captain Thomas Meek of Marblehead, was bilged in the Orkney Islands on his way back from Copenhagen.

COMMANDER OF THE *RECOVERY*

The Captain now had a home to come to and no doubt this influenced him to make longer visits ashore. Captain

¹⁸ E. I. H. C., X, pr. iii, 1-33.

¹⁹ Derby Papers, XVI, 3, Essex Inst. MSS.

²⁰ 2d Felt, ii, 308.

²¹ Bentley, ii, 297.

Joseph Ropes took over the *John* and the Captain was put in command of the *Recovery*, a fine ship of 284 tons, which was slightly larger than the *John* and had just returned from the East, where she displayed the American flag for the first time in Mocha. The *Recovery* was a private armed ship under the Act of July 9, 1798, and was empowered to capture French armed vessels and their prizes. The broadside of instructions to the Captain covering his instructions is still preserved in the Essex Institute. It authorized him to act against French armed vessels and recapture American vessels which they had captured.²² This was an eventful change and probably the Captain little realized that he was about to start on his last voyage. On August 6, 1799, he cleared for Hamburg. By October he was trading his cargo and in a letter of October 27, reported a good price for his coffee, but that the market for sugar and cotton was dull,²³ also

²² Pamphlet of Instructions, E. I., No. BR793, 1799.

²³ Derby MSS Letters, XVI, 33.

Hamburg November 22^d 1799

Mr John Derby
sir

By a late arrival from New York I have heard of the death of your worthy Father, with sorrow for your loss. I address this letter to you on the subject of my long & tedious business at this place, in my former letters I mentioned the difficulty of getting money, to proceed on my voy(—) sence which the cargo is mostly sacrificed, I can not say sold, I have settled my Accts with Furst & Co this day, Mr Pitcairn's will remain unsettled, as his part of the cargo is not all sold, when it is I will order him to forward his Acct to you

Your Father ordered me to forward my Bill on Messrs Lane & Fraser to Mr Sam^l Williams in London, which I did immediately on my arrival, through Mr Pitcairn who desired him to forward the money immediately, he has not yet done it, & I have been detained fourteen days in consequence of it, this day I sold a Bill on him at sight, & expect to get the money tomorrow on board, if the wind permits I shall go to sea immediately

I inclose you a minute of my A/cts likewise of the cargo that is on board, on my arrival in the India seas, if the wind will permit (—) to try Madras, for a market for my go (—)dy, as it will not be attended with much (—)tion, you may depend on my best endea(—) to make the voyage advantageous to the (—)ed having nothing more to add

I remain yr humble serv(—)

Stephen Phill(—)

that he had taken over some cash from a Newburyport shipmaster against a draft on Mr. Derby. He states he expects to proceed to India, perhaps Madras, and will perhaps touch at Cape de Verde and the Cape of Good Hope. He seems to have left Hamburg December 3, 1799, in some sort of convoy of thirty sail²⁴ and before April 30, 1800, had reached Calcutta. The Captain never wasted any time. He drew a draft for £3000 on Mr. Derby in Calcutta, so he must have bought a cargo, but left the pilot May 11, in company with Captain Muggford of the *Ulysses* and reached Boston September 15. The *Salem Gazette* remarks (Sept. 16, 1800): "Capt. Phillips has performed his voyage with remarkable expedition, it being only 9 months and 10 days since he left Hamburg." Three days later this notice appeared in the *Salem Gazette* of Friday, September 19, 1800:

(Advertisement)

"*India Sales*

On Russell's Wharf, Boston

On Wednesday, 1st Oct. next,

The ship

RECOVERY

with her guns and appurtenances, as she has just arrived from Calcutta; 284 tons, is well found, 5 years old, built in Salem, of the best materials, and by a skilful workman; sails very fast, and carries well; has been sheathed with copper during her present voyage.

Also — 1200 bags sugar — 73 bags Ginger—
and — 305 bales INDIA Goods

the — said ship's cargo —"

(detailed list of the India Goods follows, also a notice that the ship is part of the estate of the late Elias Hasket Derby)

I will esteem it a favour, if you will be (—) good as to get four or five thousand dollars (—) tured for me, from Hamburg to one or mo(—) ports in India, from thence to her port of discharge in (—) with liberty to touch at Cape de verd Islands, Cape of Good Hope (—) and you will confer an Obligation on (—)

Yours se(—)

Stephen Phillips

²⁴ *Salem Gazette*, Tuesday, Feb. 4, 1800.

With the arrival of the *Recovery* came a bundle of news from the East which showed how the interests of Salem were spreading out around the world. The death of Winthrop Gray was reported, "The last of a company of Jolly fellows in Salem," says Dr. Bentley.²⁵ "We hear of several of our promising young seamen." Thomas Lechmore, Esq., said to be a native of Salem, was reported appointed an alderman of Bombay.

HE RETIRES FROM THE SEA

The return of the *Recovery* marked the end of an epoch in the life of the Captain. As he later wrote, "having arrived at the age of thirty-six years and having for more than twenty years led an arduous and dangerous life at sea, I decided to retire and settle down." He could truly say that his life had been both arduous and perilous. Where he went and what he did in his first years at sea we do not know, but in the course of the last twelve years to summarize briefly: he had rounded the Cape of Good Hope at least five times and visited Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon and Canton; he had crossed the Atlantic at least six times, going twice to the Mediterranean and twice to the Baltic and always in vessels of less than 300 tons. His sea life covered the troubled period of the outbreak of the French Revolution and our undeclared naval war with France. Though he had tough experiences and his vessels went well armed, he never lost either vessel or cargo and his ships were never cast away. But with it all, he had a well-deserved reputation for fast voyages, so he must have taken the fair risks of the sea.

Now the land beckoned to him and he came ashore for good. A young and charming wife no doubt was sufficient cause for this desire, but he had accumulated some property, he had visited the great ports of the world with which later he traded and few men were better equipped than he to become successful merchants. As early as April, 1798, he had shown evidence of having acquired some property, for then he bought of Michael Webb the house and land on the north side of Derby Street just

²⁵ Diary, ii, 349.



CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS

From a portrait by Roux, in possession of James Duncan Phillips

east of Hardy Street for \$2,858, and a year later sold part of it to George Archer for \$2,333 and the rest of it to Nathaniel Brown for \$900, making a tidy profit of some \$400. He may have bought this place with intent to live in it, but apparently he never did.

HELPS SETTLE DUDLEY WOODBRIDGE'S ESTATE

About a year before the Captain left the sea, his father-in-law, Dudley Woodbridge, had died, October 21, 1799, and was buried under the large slate stone which still stands on the extreme easterly side of the Charter Street burial ground not very far from where his mansion house had stood in Vine Street as that part of Charter Street between Walnut and Elm Streets was then called. As there is no evidence that the Captain lived elsewhere, except a family tradition that he lived on the south side of Derby Street, west of the corner of Turner Street, his wife may have continued to live at her father's house while the Captain continued at sea.²⁶

Dudley Woodbridge left a considerable estate, including a mansion house in Vine Street, a wharf, buildings and a considerable amount of land down on Bridge Street near March Street toward Horton's point.²⁷

There was a widow, as Mrs. Dudley Woodbridge did not die till many years later, and seven children, three sons and four daughters. Thomas March Woodbridge at first acted for himself, but in later transactions the Captain was his attorney, as he was throughout for William Woodbridge, who was a successful merchant in Savannah, Georgia.²⁸ Joseph Peabody represented the husband of Mary G. Fenno, but the daughters all signed for them-

²⁶ The Derby Street house was not the one removed in the spring of 1930 to Webb Street and said to have mural paintings on the hall of the ports the captain visited, nor did the captain ever have such paintings, nor did that house have such mural paintings done for anybody, for the writer had several layers of wall paper removed and the plaster below which looked like old plaster and was laid on hand split laths examined. It showed no signs of ever having been painted.

²⁷ Bentley, ii, 469.

²⁸ In the old cemetery in Savannah there is (1939) a very excellent square monument to William Woodbridge surrounded by an iron fence with an inscription extolling his virtues.

selves. The youngest son, Joseph Jackson Woodbridge, was a minor during most of the transactions and his undivided seventh in the Vine Street property was sold by public auction by order of the court and Captain Stephen bought it in for \$533.86, which was more than it proved to be worth, and that seems to have been the way of disposing of more of his portions.

There was a lot of real estate and the prices seem painfully low according to our ideas even in the humble mood of 1939. The most important single sales were the wharf property on Water Street for \$4,328 to Nathan Peirce²⁹ and a large block of land on Bridge Street to Aaron Wait, Jerathmiel Peirce and Israel Williams for \$6,160,³⁰ both sold in December, 1800. March Street was laid out through the Woodbridge property down to Horton's Point and was named for Mrs. Woodbridge's family. The fine old March house was part of the property. Captain Stephen bid in some of the parcels of land, others were sold to many different owners. This land had been collected to produce a development like Chestnut Street and the Common, but it was too far from the center of the town and the Captain made little or nothing on what he bought. There was also some property in Andover, which included a farm and a woodlot, but all was presently adjusted and there are few transactions after 1804 that involve the Woodbridge heirs.

CAPTAIN'S SON BORN

Only a little over a year after Dudley Woodbridge died there was born to Stephen and Dorcas their only child who was destined to be the most famous of any of Dudley Woodbridge's grandchildren. He was born in the house on Vine Street on November 4, 1801. Unfortunately the diary of Mrs. Holyoke ends the year before or we should probably know all about it, but anyway born he was and his mother again took her place in society.

When the Salem Female Charitable Society was founded in 1801 Dorcas Phillips was one of the sub-

²⁹ Essex Reg. of Deeds, Book 168, p. 163.

³⁰ Essex Reg. of Deeds, Book 167, p. 231.

scribers. Apparently this society arose not from a demand for charity, but from the desire of these good women to do something for others, and when on July 6, 1803, Dr. Barnard of the First Church preached a sermon before the society on its second anniversary, this account is given of the founding: "At Salem on the 1st of July, 1801, after a conference upon the subject of Female Charities, several persons to whom the subject had been mentioned, met for the purpose of considering the benefits from the establishment of a Charitable Institution, to be conducted by Females only. Upon a determination to form such a Society, the proper objects of it were considered. These were thought to be aged needy widows, and destitute females who had known the comforts of better days. With these were united such poor children as would be happy in the restraints of virtue, and could be instructed for usefulness, with good hopes.

"The aged females were to be relieved annually from a fund for that purpose. The children were to be placed under the entire direction of a Governess, who could instruct them in every thing adapted to domestic usefulness, and who could encourage habits of industry, economy, and sober life."

One hundred and forty-four good ladies were on the list of subscribers which reads as if it may have been a social register of Salem. Both Dorcas Phillips and her mother, Mrs. Dorcas Woodbridge, were members and it is to be noted that all the ladies signed their given names not their husbands' names, though all the married ones were noted as "Mrs." The society appears to have originated in the First Church and Dr. Bentley does not mention it till the sermon of 1803.³¹

MERCANTILE ACTIVITIES WHILE AT SEA

The Captain was not yet forty and was at the height of his active career. The first mention of his business activities other than as a navigator appears when he went surety for part of the cargo of the *Grand Turk* when she

³¹ Bentley, iii, 29.

came in from India in June, 1793,³² but he took a very active interest in the cargo of the *Rose* when he brought her home from Montserrat in May, 1794, and the bulk of the cargo, some 9700 pounds of sugar and a lot of glass seems to have been entered to him.³³

After he was transferred to the *Eliza*, he kept up his activity and when she came back from Bordeaux five per cent of her cargo was consigned to him, amounting to 1,000 gallons of wine and 500 gallons of brandy, as well as a lot of general merchandise. When he brought her back from Calcutta, her cargo of 240,000 pounds of sugar was chiefly consigned to Mr. Derby, but there were ten other men interested in miscellaneous items and he was one. He had a much bigger interest in his next voyage and brought in for himself about 2,000 pounds of sugar, 200 pounds of coffee and \$1,900 worth of general merchandise.

In 1798, he went a little further into the mercantile lines and brought in a small merchandise shipment on the brigantine *Rajah*, which was one of Willard Peele's vessels from Bordeaux. This year he also imported 2,688 pounds of indigo, a commodity of which he brought in a great deal eventually.³⁴

On his eventful voyage back from Naples in March, 1799, he had a miscellaneous venture of some 500 gallons of brandy, a little cheese and over \$1,000 worth of merchandise, but this seems to have been his last venture till he landed from the *Recovery* and settled down to the serious business of a merchant. Nor is it clear what he did with these goods he imported, for they were not reshipped by him in his own name. Probably he sold them to merchants on shore or to other traders in Salem who could give attention to handling them.

SETTLES DOWN AS A MERCHANT

In the early months of 1801 the Captain started his long career as a merchant by buying a half interest in

³² Custom House Records at E. I., Acct. of Bonds, Aug. 1, 1789 to Jan. 29, 1793.

³³ Impost Bk., No. 2, Naval Office.

³⁴ Impost Bks. 2 and 4, Naval Office.



CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS

From a silhouette in possession of James Duncan Phillips

the brig *Sukey*, a handy vessel of 102 tons built a few years before at Falmouth and previously owned by Samuel Forrester.³⁵ She was now owned half and half by Henry Prince and Stephen Phillips and loaded with sugar, coffee and rum, cleared for Gambia, commanded by George Ropes. She returned via St. Bartholomew's in the West Indies, bringing cotton, sugar, coffee and rum (probably some portion of her outbound cargo not sold) fifteen months after she sailed.

When George Ropes got home, Dr. Bentley had a talk with him about the voyage and accepted his statement that the voyage was unprofitable unless one indulged in slaving which they did not do.³⁶ A few months later when the worthy doctor, inflamed with political zeal for the Jeffersonian cause, began to charge all Federalists with being thieves, liars and scoundrels, he took a fling at this voyage and charged Captain Ropes and his owners, entirely without evidence, with slaving.

While the *Sukey* was gone, two good consignments of merchandise valued at over \$5,000 came in to the Captain from Calcutta on the ships *Mary* and *Good Hope*.³⁷ These ships belonged to Nathaniel West, John Norris and others. They arrived January 19, 1802.

FAMOUS WRECKS ON CAPE COD

Almost exactly a month later three fine ships, the *Brutus* and the *Ulysses* which belonged to the Crowninshields and the *Volusia* which belonged to Samuel Cook and Israel Williams, all sailed for Europe. In the *Volusia* Captain Phillips was deeply interested. It was a mild and beautiful day when these ships sailed, but almost immediately they ran into a furious snow storm and forty-eight hours after sailing all were piled up on Cape Cod.³⁸ Such was the weather that the news of these appalling losses did not reach Salem till March 1, a week later, and then George and John Crowninshield started at once for the Cape by land and others in three

³⁵ Salem Ship Registers, 178.

³⁶ Bentley, ii, 439.

³⁷ Impost Book, No. 3.

³⁸ Bentley, ii, 417-19.

vessels by water. The *Brutus* and *Ulysses* were almost total losses, but the *Volusia* yielded considerable salvage and at least 18,000 pounds of coffee belonging chiefly to Stephen Phillips & Co. were saved and brought back to Salem. Where he got this coffee and what he eventually did with it the records do not reveal.

It is difficult to trace many transactions, but some of the piece goods which came among the merchandise on the ship *Mary*, he sent along to Amsterdam by the same vessel. There are few other transactions of the Captain to be found in the Custom House books for the whole year 1802.

In the spring of 1803 there is an inconspicuous entry of a few hundred dollars' worth of merchandise on board the ship *Union*, then principally owned by Clifford Crowninshield and in which Nathan Peirce was interested. This was the Captain's first interest in the *Union* which he, Nathan and George Peirce bought in 1806 and owned till she was lost on Baker's Island in February, 1817.³⁹

The ship *Mary* must have gone from Amsterdam to Calcutta, for she brought in \$1,000 worth of merchandise for the Captain in September, 1803, and the little *Sukey* arrived from Havre de Grace with 850 gallons of brandy and other goods.

DEATH OF DORCAS WOODBRIDGE PHILLIPS

It was early in the year 1803 that the Captain again found himself alone in the world. None of the contemporary diaries give us any information on the subject, but on June 15, 1803, after seven years of married life, Dorcas died and left the Captain to bring up his little son. What the illness was is not apparent, but it was brief and fatal. She was buried in the Charter Street burial ground and that pleasant era of the Captain's life came to an end.

PHILLIPS AND PRINCE

MERCHANTS AND SHIP OWNERS

Some time late in 1803 the Captain and Henry Prince

³⁹ Ship Registers, 192.

seem to have associated themselves together in some sort of a partnership. They already owned the brig *Sukey* and the schooner *Georgetown* and their efforts seem to have largely concentrated on these vessels, although they never hesitated either individually or together to take a hand in other ventures.

In November, 1803, the *Georgetown*, under Captain Nathan Millett, came in from St. Vincent with 1,000 gallons of rum of various sorts. Her clearance for this voyage does not appear on the records. About the same time, the *Hector*, of which John Allen was master, brought them merchandise and 228 gallons of wine from Malaga, though she did not belong to them.

April 6, 1804, the *Georgetown* again came in from Martinico with what seems like a huge cargo, 78,750 pounds of sugar, 3,711 pounds of coffee, 424 pounds of cheaper sugar and 12,046 gallons of molasses. The duties on this cargo were \$2,769.37.

There seems to be no record of what the *Sukey* was doing in 1804, but on August 19, 1805, she arrived from Naples and Marseilles under command of Henry Prince with 23,000 gallons of wine, 700 gallons of brandy and other merchandise, including 45 $\frac{8}{12}$ gross of buttons! The duties on this cargo were over \$5,800.

The *Georgetown*, which had been converted into a bark presumably for the East India trade which now beckoned to this enterprising young firm, sailed on February 25, 1805, for India. She was only 163 tons and now commanded by George Ropes. Only three persons were interested in the return cargo from Batavia, presumably the owners and the Captain. It was very large and valuable: 208,099 pounds of sugar, 134,045 pounds of coffee, 1,192 pounds of mace and a little merchandise. The duties were \$13,400, of which the merchandise cost over \$1,070. This cargo seems to have been bought with 131 barrels of salt provisions which she took out, but she probably carried specie also.

The *Sukey* must have cleared for India soon after the *Georgetown*, for she got home October 13, 1806, with \$11,624 worth of merchandise.

ASSOCIATED WITH THE PEIRCES

In January, 1806, the Captain with his two brothers-in-law through his second wife, to be mentioned later, bought the ship *Union* and George Peirce became her captain. When she sailed is not on record, but it must have been early in the year, for she arrived home a week after the *Sukeey* with nearly half a million pounds of pepper from Sumatra consigned to Captain Phillips and others on which the duties were \$28,000 charged at six cents a pound.

George and Nathan Peirce, with whom the *Union* was owned, were the sons of Nathan Peirce and the brothers of Elizabeth Peirce, whom the Captain had recently married as his second wife. Their father, Nathan, who came from Newbury,⁴⁰ lived on Vine (now Charter) Street and owned Peirce's wharf, below the burying ground,⁴¹ which he had bought of the heirs of Dudley Woodbridge in 1801.⁴² The son Nathan lived at 135 Essex Street.⁴³ George was a sea captain and commanded Phillips' ships for many years.

DIFFICULT PERIOD FOR COMMERCE

Commerce was just entering upon the most difficult period of Jeffersonian mal-administration. The so-called non-importation act was already in force (November 15, 1806) and the Embargo was looming in the distance.⁴⁴ It went into force December 22, 1807, and the additional enforcing acts, on January 9 and March 12, 1808. It did not become water-tight, however, till the Enforcement Act of January, 1809, was passed.

In February, 1807, the Captain received 3,712 pounds of white and 2,625 pounds of brown sugars by the schooner *Saucy Jack* from Havana. This was a Ropes schooner commanded by James Silver. A more important shipment of wine, brandy, merchandise and 14,943

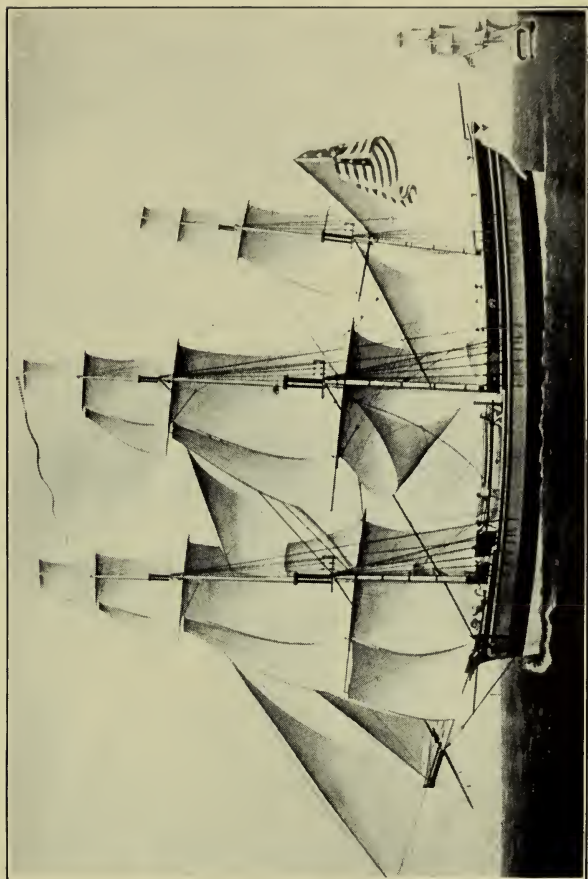
⁴⁰ Bentley, iv, 97.

⁴¹ E. I. Hist. Col., IV, 78.

⁴² Essex Reg. of Deeds, Bk. 168, p. 163.

⁴³ E. I. H. C., IV, 133.

⁴⁴ Channing: Hist. of U. S., IV, pp. 375-378, summarizes these troubles.



SHIP "UNION" BUILT IN SALEM, 1802, OWNED BY CAPTAIN PHILLIPS

pounds of soap came in on William Orne's brigantine *Washington* from Barcelona on July 1. The duties on this cargo were \$11,000. Benjamin Swett brought in a small consignment of merchandise on his brig *Little James* in September from Leghorn. The real event of the year was the arrival of the *Union*, still owned by Captain Phillips and the Peirce brothers, which brought them nearly half a million pounds of pepper from Sumatra on October 20 just before the Embargo was taken up for consideration. The duties were \$25,590.

THE SUMATRA PEPPER TRADE

Everybody was now in this Sumatra pepper trade, which was enormously profitable. It was started by Jonathan and Willard Peele with the *Rajah*, commanded by Captain Jonathan Carnes, which arrived in 1799, but all the important merchants soon plunged in. Captain Stephen came in just at its height and it is interesting to note that it had been started by the father of his son's future wife.

The Captain constantly traded on other vessels beside his own. In 1807 the brig *Argus* brought him from Martinico 54,097 pounds of sugar and the brig *Minerva* 3,900 pounds more and perhaps even greater quantities.⁴⁵

We can only get a partial idea what became of these enormous cargoes of pepper and sugar, but it is clear that most of it went out to Europe. The brig *Sukey* left in November, 1807, for Europe and took all the sugar brought by the *Argus* and the *Minerva*, as well as 140,000 pounds of the pepper brought in by the *Union*. The sugar that came in on the *Saucy Jack* all went out to Europe on the *Argo*.

Of the *Union's* half a million pounds of pepper, 140,000 pounds went out on the *Sukey* as stated, 5,750 pounds on the brig *Little James*, 23,000 pounds were transferred to Baltimore and shipped on three different ships to Trieste and Leghorn. This pepper was from the *Union's* 1806 voyage and had been held some time and the 1807 cargo was still on hand.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Drawback Book 1807-1811.

⁴⁶ Drawback Book 1807-1811.

The year 1808 must have been a mighty busy one for Captain Graves and the little brig *Sukey*. He got away from Salem just ahead of the Embargo in November, 1807. Where he went in Europe does not appear, but the next we hear of the *Sukey* was when she arrived in August, 1808, under Captain Henry Prince, jr. from the Isle of France with 48,647 pounds of black tea, 14,053 pounds of green tea and 1,340 pounds of Hyson, on which the duties were about \$12,000. She must have left again for Europe, probably Marseilles, almost immediately and was back in Salem in three months with a most curious assortment, Vermacelli, candles, casks and boxes of wine, jars of lentals and bags of corks, not to mention three cases of hats! She stayed just long enough to change captains and Nathaniel Knight took her to the West Indies, without apparently unloading most of her cargo, to peddle the miscellaneous merchandise.

How she succeeded in getting out of the Embargo is not evident, but the *Union* appears not to have made her annual trip to the East in 1808. The duties paid on dutiable commodities like pepper were rebated when re-exported and it is from the so-called drawback books from the Custom House that it is possible to trace the destination of cargoes imported, but the dates of importation are given by months with no mention of the year and are most confusing.

BUSY YEARS 1810-12

This had been the difficult time of the Embargo and the ships were forced out of their routine, but things were straightening out by 1810, so on March 11, 1811, John Osgood, jr., brought the *Sukey* in from Havana with 83,000 pounds of white sugar, 55,000 pounds of brown sugar, 1,780 pounds of coffee, 320 gallons of molasses and even a couple of thousand cigars. In September, 1811, the *Union* arrived from Calcutta with 80,000 pounds more sugar, \$53,000 worth of merchandise, 4,000 pounds of indigo and a vast quantity of cordage.

By October the *Sukey* was back from a trip she seems to have made to Cronstadt, bringing merchandise, tallow.

cordage and hemp. The latter was in great demand at the Salem rope walks, so she stopped long enough to drop that and pick up a vast lot of the pepper that the *Union* had brought and was off for Havana. The result was more sugar, more molasses and coffee which she brought in January 14, 1812. Then everything stops for about three years on account of the war with England. The busy little *Sukey* drops out of the picture entirely and is supposed to have been sold in Russia,⁴⁷ but there is no record of her clearing for Russia for the Captain, so he must have sold her first.

THE CAPTAIN MARRIES AGAIN

With the death of Dorcas Woodbridge began a new chapter in the Captain's home life. His little boy was less than two years old when the mother died and doubtless he felt the severe need for someone to care for his motherless boy. On February 19, 1804, he married Miss Elizabeth Peirce, the daughter of Nathan Peirce, who was then about thirty years of age. Tradition says she was a quiet, unassuming young lady, rather small and slight in figure and quite a contrast to her vigorous assertive husband. No tradition of where the wedding took place or anything about it has come down to us, but as Dr. Bentley never mentions performing a marriage we may assume that neither Dr. Barnard of the First Church of which Captain Stephen was a member nor Rev. Daniel Hopkins of the South Church of which Miss Peirce was a member did, so they were probably married by a magistrate as everyone else was.

Three months later, on May 18, 1804, the Captain bought a lot of land on the fine new street just being laid out in the upper part of the town which we know as Chestnut Street. He had about the first choice of lots and he selected a fine one on the south side of the street, so he could have a nice sunny garden behind and for nearly eighty years his family owned number 17. He presently started to build a fine three-story house with brick ends on his lot. Just when he started cannot be

⁴⁷ Salem Ship Registers.

said with certainty, but probably immediately and as the street was not widened to eighty feet from its original forty till December tenth of that same year, that may be the reason why his front steps occupy a portion of the sidewalk.

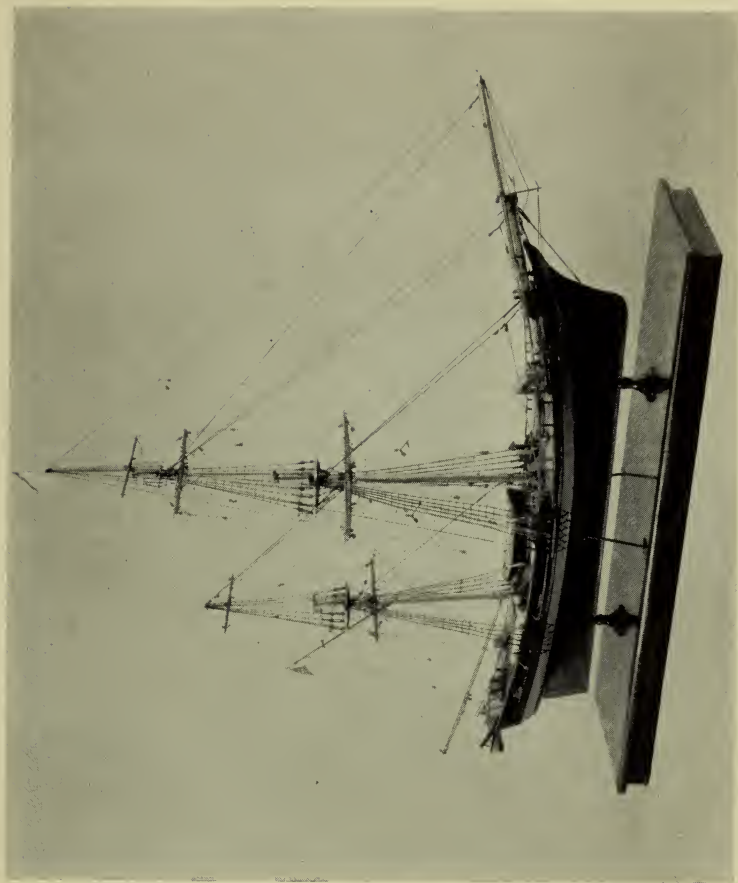
The house was not a square house like many on the street. There were two rooms across the front and an ell extended back on the westerly side with a little dining room, back hall and kitchen behind. The Captain did not buy the lot to the east of the house, which in his day was laid out as a beautiful garden with great box hedges, till July, 1816, but it continued as a beautiful garden as long as his family owned it.

There was a great outburst of building activity on the street between 1804 and 1808. Numbers 8, 18 and 28 were probably standing before, but not in their present shape. During the above four years, numbers 10, 12, 17, 19, 39, the South Church and Hamilton Hall were all built and it must be admitted these were some of the noblest structures ever on the street.

Probably the Captain and his wife were comfortably installed in his new house in the early part of 1805 and probably some of the old French mirrors and beautiful Dutch paintings by Van Huysen which are supposed to have been the loot of the French Revolution which the Captain brought back in his voyages were decorating the walls. Perhaps the sofas and tables which are now called by the name of McIntire and Duncan Pfyffe may also have been there.

In June and July, 1806, the Captain bought of Jonathan Neale the land where Hamilton Hall stands, in two parcels for which he paid \$2,150 and in September of the same year sold it at the same price to Benjamin Pickman, Esq., Pickering Dodge and the other partners of the new Assembly Hall, of whom he was rather an active one as his name is given in an advertisement October 7, 1807, as the person to whom all claims against the Hall are to be presented.⁴⁸ The incorporation was much delayed by a stubborn fight in the House of Representa-

⁴⁸ Frank Lee: Scrap Book I, 2.



MODEL BY H. PERCY ASHLEY, OF THE KETCH "ELIZA," OWNED BY CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS

Model in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem

tives against incorporating a dance hall, and Willard Peele and Pickering Dodge were the incorporators when it was incorporated fifteen years or so later.⁴⁹ Chestnut Street was the Federalist citadel of the town and hence the name of Hamilton Hall; and how could it have been flanked right and left by any streets except Pickering Street and Hamilton Street, named for the two great pillars of the Federalist party! While the social elite of Federalism closed the earthly gates of society against the anti-Federalists, across the street, the Rev. Daniel Hopkins weekly threatened those same Jeffersonians with all the torments of Hell in the life hereafter.

Education was provided for in the neighborhood by a subscriber's school which was presided over by a young man named Tappan. He came highly recommended and his father had established an excellent reputation as a professor at Cambridge, but unfortunately the young man seems to have been somewhat choleric of temper. To this school the little son of the Captain was sent when he was five or six years old and as the result no doubt of some prank the master punished the little boy, then seven, so severely that a doctor had to be called. Knowing the firm character of the old Captain, it seems as if the young master had put himself in an undesirable position. An attempt was made to keep the affair quiet but everybody in town knew of it.⁵⁰

DEALINGS IN REAL ESTATE

Between the time that he bought his house on Chestnut Street and the time that he retired from business, which was about 1821, the Captain was more or less steadily engaged in real estate transactions, most of which came upon him by reason of his two marriages. He had taken over a good deal of property from the Woodbridge estate down on Bridge Street to help adjust the division between the heirs. At various times from 1804 to 1814, he sold at least five substantial pieces on Bridge Street and two on March Street, not to mention properties on Fish and

⁴⁹ Essex Reg. of Deeds, Bk. 179, pp. 2, 42, Bk. 199, pp. 25.

⁵⁰ Bentley: *Diary*, iii, 367.

what was then Vine now Charter Street, but even at that he still held considerable. By 1813 he became involved in the property of the late Nathan Peirce, father of his second wife, and there were adjustments in the division of that property which ran through most of the rest of his life.

THE CAPTAIN'S LATER COMMERCIAL VENTURES

During the War of 1812 the faithful little brig *Sukey* seems to have disappeared from his list. The last we hear of her is her entry from Havana full of sugar, coffee and molasses January 12, 1812, but the Captain needed such a little handy brig, so in April, 1815, we find the *Nancy Ann*, a brig of 173 tons built in 1809 in Salisbury, registered in his name,⁵¹ and in the next few years she is as busy as the *Sukey* was formerly. Under Capt. John B. Osgood she sailed for the Baltic with 15,807 pounds of brown sugar, 5,285 pounds of coffee, 259 matts cassia and a lot of other things. On April 11, 1816, she entered from Buenos Ayres with 46,000 pounds of tallow and has the honor of starting the trade between Salem and that port which lasted till 1860 and was of immense value.⁵² The record is blank on what she did for the next year, but in August, 1817, she came in from Antwerp with \$16,000 worth of merchandise, which included 189 cases of muskets. These proved not too easy to dispose of. The story is she almost got seized on the wholly false charge that she was trying to run guns into India when she really took them out to sell to the Dutch East India Company. On her way back she stopped at Buenos Ayres and would have sold them to the insurgents in Argentina, but the war was all over, so she had to bring them home along with, of course, \$15,450 worth of merchandise, 18,425 gallons of molasses and a little sugar and coffee. In sixty days she was off for India again, still carrying the muskets, and visited Bombay and Batavia, where she finally sold the much-traveled muskets to the Dutchmen for whom they were originally intended.

⁵¹ Salem Ship Registers, 129.

⁵² Osgood and Batchelder: Sketch of Salem, 175, 176.

and brought home 47,148 pounds of pepper, 71,980 pounds of cotton, 9,624 pounds of coffee, 1,371 pounds of cassia and sundry small lots. She stayed in Salem, this time about sixty days, and Captain Putnam took over the command from Capt. J. B. Osgood. Then she sailed for Europe with almost the identical cargo she had brought from the East. No doubt she got back and brought a good cargo to the Captain, but when she went out next time it was for the account of his son, Stephen C. Phillips.

But meanwhile what had become of the *Union*? She came in from Calcutta just previous to the war as has been said, but there appear to be no records of entrances or clearances till the fatal entry of March 31, 1817, when 112,692 pounds of pepper were entered, most of it damaged, from the wreck on Baker's Island. She must have sailed late in 1815 or early in 1816 for Pulo Penang under William Osgood and came on the coast late in February. Apparently she made Thatcher's Island all right, but in the snow storm then prevailing the master must have got confused because the two lights on Baker's had been reduced temporarily to one since he sailed, and she was cast away on the northwest corner of Baker's Island. She carried a lot of tea as well as the pepper and that was apparently all lost.⁵³

This disaster did not however dampen the Captain's spirits and by October he had bought a new ship, the *Eliza*, just built in Salem of 262 tons and put William Osgood in command of her. The record does not show where she was used for the next year or two, but on January 17, 1821, she entered from Leghorn with nearly 6,000 bushels of salt.

What came on his own ships was not the limit of the Captain's activities. Vessels of other owners brought him thousands of pounds of sugar and coffee and cotton from Havana, Cayenne and Calcutta, which he reshipped on the *Nancy Ann*, so he had plenty to do till 1821.

At that date he suddenly disappears from the Custom House books and his son, then aged twenty-one, takes over all the vast concerns of the old Captain. The *Nancy*

⁵³ Impost Book, Mar. 31, 1817.

Ann goes out for his account and new vessels, the bark *Derby* and the brig *Peru*, begin to sail for him and presently the ship *Eliza* is sailed for his account. In short, after twenty strenuous years in the shipping business, the Captain retired to a less strenuous life as we shall presently see.

THE MARINE RAILWAY

Sometime in the year 1823 the Captain and a group of associates organized a company to build a marine railway. The Captain, acting for the company, bought from Benjamin West some land on Harbor Street in South fields running to the channel and an adjoining strip from Pickering Dodge. By September, 1824, the company had been incorporated and the land was transferred to the corporation, but with what success we do not know, nor does the record show who his "partners and associates" so glibly mentioned were.

THE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN BARTON SQUARE

The same year that saw the organization of the Marine Railway, the Captain's energies were involved in a far different activity. A group of men mostly from the First Church associated themselves together to form a new Unitarian Society. On August 5, 1824, Stephen Phillips, Ezekiel Hersey Derby, Willard Peele, George Nichols and Nathaniel West, jr. bought for \$4,000 the land at the easterly corner of Barton Square and Essex Street. They must have moved with great rapidity, for by December the church had been dedicated and Rev. Henry Colman had been selected as minister. It is interesting to see just how they went about to organize a church at that time. The five organizers apparently supplied the money and built the church which with the land cost all told \$20,500, "being the whole estimated cost and value of said Church and land." It was then figured out that each pew was worth \$290 and each was valued at that figure for tax liability. Then they proceeded to sell the pews on December 12 for what they would bring at auction. The Captain bought No. 39 for \$320, his son



HOUSE OF CAPT. STEPHEN PHILLIPS

No. 17 CHESTNUT STREET

Stephen C. paid \$350 for No. 5, Samuel R. Hodges bought No. 45 for \$285, Franklin H. Story No. 69 for \$275 and No. 44 for \$280, William Fettyplace No. 63 for \$271, Stephen White No. 71 for \$315; Eliza White, widow, No. 72 for \$300, George Cleveland No. 73 for \$280, Jonathan Hodges No. 76 for \$305, John Derby No. 78 for \$330, Dr. John Treadwell No. 36 for \$280, Abel Hersey No. 43 for \$305, Willard Peele No. 41 for \$251 and No. 40 for \$251, William Cleveland No. 74 for \$255, Ezekiel Hersey Derby No. 12 for \$320, Nathaniel West, jr. No. 77 for \$300, George S. Johonnot No. 42 for \$250.

These appear to be all the pews that were sold at the first auction and all were deeded to the respective owners and the deeds recorded in the registry of deeds. Then the proprietors proceeded to execute a deed releasing the dower rights of their wives in all the property and after this was done they divided the remaining pews among themselves at a high enough value to absorb the remaining cost of the property. Willard Peele took on \$4,297.50 and received eighteen and a half pews, while Stephen Phillips took seven pews for which he paid \$1,810 and seven more for \$1,795, and so on with the other original proprietors till the whole property was broken down within a couple of years into individual ownership. Apparently twenty purchasers at the auction bought about \$6,000 worth of pews and the proprietors took in the rest and presumably sold a considerable number later or perhaps rented them. It is an interesting study in organization.

Mr. Colman's ministry lasted only seven years when he retired, much regretted, to private life on account of ill health, and Rev. J. W. Thompson succeeded him and continued as pastor for more than a quarter of a century.

Mr. Stephen C. Phillips was greatly interested in Sunday School work and from the beginning the Barton Square Sunday School was conducted on efficient school lines and was an important feature of the church.

LIFE ON CHESTNUT STREET

The Captain was much interested in his home on Chestnut Street and in 1816 bought the lot of land just east of his house at No. 17 and converted it into a fine garden. The rear portion had fruit trees and small fruits but the front part was laid out as a beautiful formal garden with box borders and flower beds in geometrical designs. Sixty years later the writer as a small child played hide-and-seek among these box borders then higher than his head and forming a sort of labyrinth. It must have been in the early eighties that this lovely garden went to decay.

The Captain had a Sikh servant whom he had brought from India on some cruise who went by the name of George. He wore usually the long white tunic of his people with loose trousers and a red sash. His black bearded face was surmounted by a great blue turban. Now George may not have mastered the principles of democracy, but he well understood that what the Captain told him to do was final law. Salem must have been a colorful place in those days, for Lasca sailors were not infrequent along the wharves and not a few captains had brought home servants from India who retained their native costumes. Many of the Salem negroes were descended from these East Indians and not from the unintelligent Congo slaves.

Now Captain Phillips belonged to the liberal Unitarian wing of the Congregational church, while his quiet little wife affected the Calvinistic trinitarianism then dispensed with great popularity by Mr. Emerson at the South Church. George was in the habit of driving Mrs. Phillips to the South Church (though only half a block) and then returning to take the Captain to Barton Square. One Sunday George reported that the deacons had ordained traffic regulations and that all carriages were hereafter to pass into Cambridge Street in the direction of Essex and land their passengers along the curb to prevent confusion. The Captain heard these rules with growing astonishment and indignation. His wife to be sent around to the side door! Certainly not!! "George,

you drive Mrs. Phillips straight to the front door and, if those deacons undertake to stop you, you drive right up the front steps and down the middle aisle. Do you understand?" "Yes, sahib," said George, and a week passed.

Next Sunday, Mrs. Phillips seated herself demurely in her carriage for church and drove to the front door. A deacon stepped out to direct him to the side door, but George with a flick of his whip brought the horses smartly to the sidewalk and headed for the door. Mrs. Phillips screamed orders from the window of the coach, the deacons grabbed the horses and finally the tumult was stilled. George said he had done as ordered. The story seems complete except for what Mrs. Phillips said to the Captain. Thereafter they drove to the side door, so no doubt the tradition that Mrs. Phillips's control of the Captain was as complete as that of most wives is no doubt correct.

Another amusing story about George deals with the Captain's grandson George and the daughter of John C. Lee whom everybody in Salem in our generation loved as Miss Hattie Lee. A hue and cry went out one morning that little George was missing and the searchers met other searchers looking for little Hattie. Soon everybody was out looking down wells and into unused closets and big trunks in barn chambers and unused grain bins. No one saw George on the hunt after the very first, but when the excitement was at fever pitch suddenly George swung into the head of Chestnut Street with a long and purposeful stride with little George kicking and screaming, grasped firmly around the waist under his right arm, and little Hattie weeping profusely under his left. Screams and tears were nothing to him. He had been told to find those children and he calmly delivered them to their excited parents like any other parcels. The children had just anticipated some twentieth century performances by deciding to elope at the age of eight and had headed up the turnpike for Boston.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Traditions related by Mrs. G. H. Mifflin in 1928.

THE SHIP MASTER BECOMES A FARMER

The Prince Farm in Danvers came into the hands of Mr. Nathan Peirce in 1800 after being in the hands of the Prince family for 150 years,⁵⁵ and in that way the Captain came to know the place. When Nathan Peirce died, he left the farm to George Peirce, the Captain's brother-in-law, who died in 1822. In 1826 Michael Shepard, as guardian of George Peirce's minor children, sold the farm of 130 acres (and 7½ acres in another piece) to Captain Stephen for \$4,000. It is almost impossible to trace the boundaries as described in the deed,⁵⁶ but suffice it to say that it began near where the Ferncroft Station used to stand, ran up the road about a quarter of a mile to where the place now owned by Mrs. John Nichols stands, omitting certain small lots, cut across irregularly to Summer Street, down that to Oak Knoll and then westerly across the marsh to the starting point. The Prince burial place near the marsh was an easement on the property even then.

This was the Beaver Brook Farm of the Princes and there stood on it at that time an ancient farm house,⁵⁷ which was located just above the present stone barn on the left as you start up the pitch of the hill, some farm buildings and a house that Nathan Peirce had modernized where the mansion house still stands. The house was probably one room deep without the westerly wing but with the easterly one and without the archway.

Externally the grounds were not at all as at present. The cart path leading in from the county road down near Beaver Brook ran along the edge of the marsh near the little Prince burial ground and up a hollow where the stone barn now stands branching right and left to the two ancient Prince houses.

THE CAPTAIN AS A LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT

The Captain was more of a landscape architect than he was house builder, gardener or farmer if the evidences

⁵⁵ Tapley: *Chronicles of Danvers*, 217.

⁵⁶ Essex Registry, Book 242, p. 36.

⁵⁷ Since 1910 this house built before 1700 has been moved down to Maple Street numbered 273, a piazza put on the front, the great chimney removed so it looks like a modern cottage.

still remaining of his work after a hundred years or so are any evidence. What is now Spring Street he laid out as his front avenue from the county road by pleasant curves over the higher land up by the old Prince house and up over the hill to connect at the other end with Summer Street. In order to accomplish this, he had to fill two ravines, one directly in front of and some distance from his house and the other directly under where the stone barn now stands. If one climbs down beside the triangle where the avenue swerves to the right between Mrs. Joshua Nichols' house and the mansion house, he will find terraces built with cyclopean boulders up to the present road level. On the opposite side the slope is steep but just the right slope to stand permanently, till one approaches the spot opposite the stone barn where the great retaining wall begins again. All the way up the avenue the grade is steady, sags have been filled and ridges cut. Moreover this road was never muddy even in the worst frosts, showing it was paved with stone under the gravel. All the way through, it was lined with great stone walls, in many places made of enormous boulders split and laid with their flat faces to the road. Particularly was this so where the road had been cut down so the walls could act as retaining walls. These stone walls provided much of the stone of which St. John's college has been built. The moving of boulders four feet through seemed to be a part of the Captain's amusement.

It was the Captain's ambition to have his residence located in the middle of a beautiful level field rather higher than the surrounding country and this he started in to accomplish. He found it located in the middle of a rolling pasture. For two hundred feet or so on either side he leveled the ground as smooth as a billiard table and brought the level forward to the road, building retaining walls of huge stones on the westerly side. Then he carried the level straight back behind the house for a hundred yards or so till he reached a point where the land fell off sharply to a swamp which he also filled, but mostly with gravel, so it acquired the name of the gravel meadow. Presumably the original peat was mixed with the gravel for a good crop of grass always grew there.

THE CASE OF WILLIAM BOWMAN, ALIAS WILLIAM HELBY, SEAMAN.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF UNITED STATES NAVY
RECRUITING IN 1811.

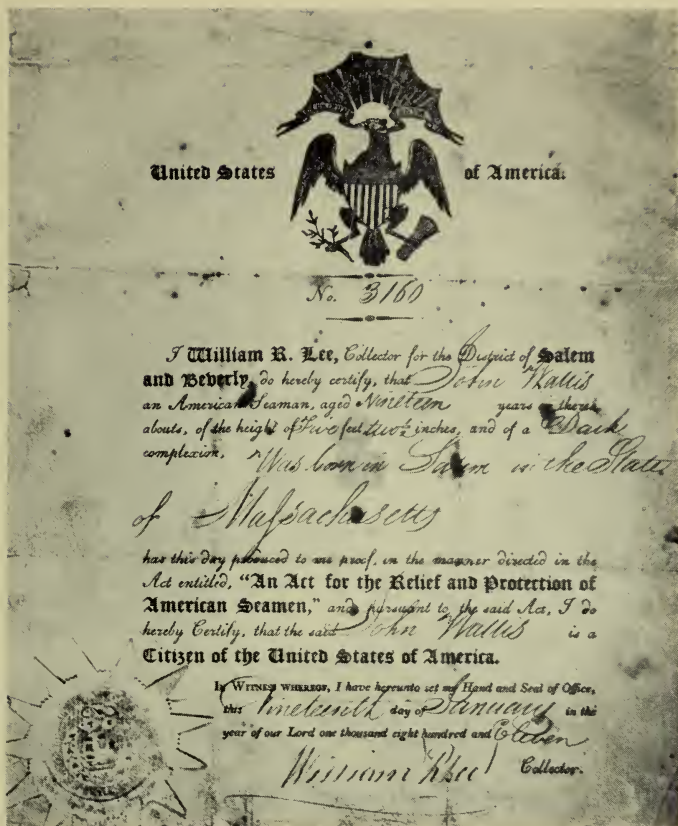
BY CLEMENT CLEVELAND SAWTELL.

The evils of impressment of American seamen, prior to the War of 1812, had long been a by-word in the United States at large, barring sections of New England which chose to wink at it. Even in England a voice was raised in bitter criticism of the abuse when William Cobbet launched his attack on the policy of the Earl of Liverpool. His stinging tirade gives at once the temper of the times and the view then held by a large body of Americans. Read his summary; it fairly leaps from the page:

But let not men be seized in her ships upon the high seas (and some times at the mouth of her own rivers) where there is nobody to judge between the parties, and where the British officer going on board is at once ACCUSER, WITNESS, JUDGE, and CAPTOR.

Vessel after vessel landing in American ports all through the Napoleonic Wars had tales to tell of impressment, and the depositions of sailors who from time to time escaped from their captivity were officially recorded. Public opinion was repeatedly inflamed by accounts similar to that of Isaac Clark, who gave a sworn statement of his experience at Essex, on December 23, 1812:

I, Isaac Clark, of Salem, in the county of Essex . . . on solemn oath declare that . . . on the 14th day of June 1809, I was impressed and forcibly taken from the ship Jane of Norfolk by the sailingmaster . . . of his majesty's ship Porcupine . . . I had a protection from the Customhouse in Salem, which I showed to Captain Elliott: he swore that I was an Englishman, and tore my protection to pieces before my eyes and threw it overboard, and ordered me to go to work . . . I told him that I did not belong to his flag, and that I would not work under it. He then ordered my legs to be put in irons, and the next morning ordered the



EXAMPLE OF AN AMERICAN SEAMAN'S PROTECTION PAPER
SIGNED BY WILLIAM R. LEE, COLLECTOR OF THE PORT OF SALEM

From the collections of the Essex Institute Library

master at arms to take me on deck, and give me two dozen lashes; after receiving them, he ordered him to keep me in irons, and give me one biscuit and one pint of water for 24 hours. After . . . one week I was brought on deck and asked by Captain Elliott if I would go to my duty—on my refusing, he ordered me to strip, tied me up a second time, and gave me two dozen more. . . . He ordered a very heavy chain put round my neck . . . fastened to a ringbolt in the deck. . . . I was kept in this situation for nine weeks, when being exhausted by hunger and thirst, I was obliged to yield.

It is perfectly clear from such evidence that impressment was a well-defined issue with the Americans, and it so remained through the early peace negotiations. Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, insisted on an impressment stipulation in his instructions to our ministers on April 15, 1813:

Upon the whole subject I have to observe, that your first duty will be to conclude a peace with Great Britain, and that you are authorized to do it, in case you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which shall secure, under our flag, protection to the crew.

Such a clear statement could leave no doubt in the minds of our ministers respecting their course, and at the same time it illustrates the importance attached to the matter by the President. Yet you may search the Treaty of Ghent from beginning to end, article by article, line by line, and find not the slightest reference to the impressment of American seamen. In a word the treaty which concluded the War of 1812 left that interesting topic in mid-air to settle itself.

In abandoning his stipulation, Mr. Madison had not forgotten the impressment evil; rather he was persuaded by circumstance. By the fall of 1814 our ports for the most part, and with them many of our ships of war, were effectively blockaded; Napoleon was lodged on the Island of Elba with the result that John Bull was in a position to devote a greater share of his energies to America, if need be; and finally it was rumored that "a British Force had taken possession of all that part of Massachusetts

situated east of the Penobscot river.”¹ In a word, the advantages of a speedy peace, even at some sacrifice, became daily more apparent.

Yet the cause so suddenly abandoned was one of long standing. American State Papers, which anyone may read today, are filled with correspondence on the subject of impressment. The administrations of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison had all in turn bombarded Great Britain with diplomatic representations, and complaints against the growing abuse.² Hardly a packet or frigate crossed the Atlantic during those trying years without instructions on this subject for our ministers abroad. Their number was legion, but nothing ever came of them except evasive and wholly unsatisfactory answers.

To the British Foreign Office, weary of parrying, an opportunity for a counter thrust must have proved diverting and gratifying alike. Such an opportunity, moreover, presented itself in January, 1812, through the surprising deposition of Elizabeth Bowman of Portsmouth, and it is quite easy to imagine the satisfaction with which the Earl of Liverpool addressed himself in novel complaint to Jonathan Russell.

Fortunately the documents which follow are preserved in the collection of American State Papers.

Borough of Portsmouth, in the County of
Southampton

Elizabeth Eleanor Bowman, of Kingston, near Portsmouth, in the said County, maketh oath, that she was married to William Bowman, late of Portsmouth, shipwright, about five years ago: that he was employed in the dockyard there, which he quitted about three years ago, and sailed from thence in the *Edward Fort*, a transport, which was wrecked on the island of Cuba; that she was informed by her husband that he got from Cuba to New York, in an American ship, and about the 4th of June last, having got in liquor, he found himself in an American rendezvous there,

¹ Letter of the Ministers Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary at Ghent, Oct. 25, 1814. A. S. P. 1811-1815, p. 595.

² For a collection of State Papers relative to impressment all through this period, see the “*Olive Branch*.”

and that he was compelled against his inclination to go on board the *Hornet*³ an American sloop of War, being conducted on board her by a file of soldiers; at Cowes, she received a letter from her husband, requesting her to come on board to see him; that she accordingly went on board; that permission for her to remain on board was for half an hour, but the officers would not afterwards permit her to quit the ship till the following Friday; that her husband told her that the officer threatened to punish him for having informed her where he was; and that he also told her there were a great many English on board, several of whom would be glad to quit her; also that some men on board much wished her away from the country, but that she does not know the names of any of the parties; that the said William Bowman, who passed on board the *Hornet* by the name of William Elby, is now detained on board her against his will and is very anxious to quit the American sloop *Hornet* and return to his native country.

The mark of

X

Elizabeth E. Bowman

Sworn at Portsmouth etc....

the 25th day of January 1812^{3a}

James Monroe, then Secretary of State, in due course communicated with Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, who in turn took the matter up with Captain Lawrence of the *Hornet*. The American stand is illustrated by the following:

Navy Department, June 8 1812

Having seen the deposition of Elizabeth Bowman in the case of William Bowman, alias William Helby, alias William Elby, said to have been compelled by force to enter on board the *Hornet*, I wrote to Capt. Lawrence, commander of the *Hornet*, for information on the subject, and have received from him the following paper which I have the honor of transmitting herewith.

³ The *Hornet*, designed by Fox and built at Baltimore around 1804, was ship rigged. She mounted eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, and two long twelves, and carried a crew of about one hundred and thirty-five. Thus she and her sister ship the *Wasp* supplied the need of the Navy for an intermediate class of vessel. In the War of 1812 the *Hornet* is known chiefly for her capture of the *Peacock* and the *Penguin*.

^{3a} A. S. P. 1811-1815, p. 147.

It can scarcely be necessary for me to remark that neither the laws nor usages of our country would sanction any compulsory means to induce persons to enter the Navy of the United States.

I am with great respect &c
Paul Hamilton

The honorable, the Secretary of State
United States Ship Hornet, New York,
June 2 1812

I do hereby certify, that in consequence of not being able to get a birth on board a merchant ship, and being absolutely in want of bread, I was induced to enter as a seaman on board the Hornet, and that for that purpose repaired to her rendezvous then opened in Philadelphia, and voluntarily entered with lieutenant Cassin, on the 3rd of July, 1811, to serve the United States of America honestly and faithfully for the term of two years, unless sooner discharged. At the time I shipped I declare that I was perfectly sober, and that as soon as I received my three months advance I went on board the gunboat then lying off the Navy Yard, for the purpose of receiving the men shipped for the Hornet, accompanied by the officer commanding her, and the landlord of the rendezvous: and I solemnly declare that no force whatever was used to compel me to enter the service, or to get me on board the gunboat.

William Helby

Witness

Joseph Smoot, Midshipman, U. S. Navy
Jacob M. Jacobs, Captains Clerk⁴

Interesting as these documents must prove to the descendants of Elizabeth and William Bowman, they are of still greater interest to the student of American Naval history, because they shed a glimmer of light on recruiting practice in this country immediately before and in all probability during the War of 1812.

That William Bowman was an Englishman was not questioned; they were common enough in American ships.^{4a} The only matter in dispute was the manner in

⁴ A. S. P. 1811-1815, p. 212.

^{4a} March 3, 1813, Acts of Congress Chapter CLXXXIV:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That from and after the termination of the war with Great Britain, it shall

which he entered the United States Navy, voluntarily or by force, and on this knotty problem William himself, at first glance, seems to have been of two minds. It is quite possible, to be sure, that Elizabeth Bowman misunderstood him, or misquoted him in her deposition, but at this remote date that question must remain unanswered. Yet in the deposition of William Helby there is ample material to permit the reconstruction of his experiences in Philadelphia over a century and a quarter ago. One has only to read between the lines, and little by little the story unfolds.

By his own confession William Helby "was absolutely in want of bread." That may sound like a fairly strong statement, but in all probability it was literally the case. Once safe ashore, after his voyage from Cuba, he undoubtedly made his headquarters at one of the crimp boarding houses and taverns combined, and commenced a spree in search of oblivion. In short he soon must have found himself in agreeable company, and it is reasonable to suppose that he managed to stay thoroughly drunk for at least a week. And under these circumstances his return to a sober state would have followed when his landlord cut off the supply of rum.

When he came to himself, it may be taken for granted that Bowman, or Helby, as you choose, found himself rather the worse for wear. If he followed tradition, much of his essential clothing was missing; his sea bag had also disappeared, and, alas, not a dollar of his wages, so carefully knotted up in his handkerchief, remained. He had clearly been robbed, and complaint to his landlord was wholly in order. But that hitherto helpful and hospitable man could hardly be expected to have assumed any responsibility in the matter. But sorry and pained he certainly was to hear of Helby's predicament, because it seems that worthy had run up quite a bill during his

not be lawful to employ on board any of the public or private vessels of the United States any person or persons except citizens of the United States, or persons of color, natives of the United States."

It follows from this Act that the American Government was aware of the foreign element in our ships of war.

short week and something must be done about it.

Here was a financial problem not to be laughed off. On the contrary it was very serious. A sailor without money would find no friends on the waterfront to help him out of his scrape. He could not pay his bill, he could not buy clothes, he could not buy food. His only course was to run further into debt to his landlord until he found a berth aboard some ship. If there had been any shipping at the time William H. might have waked up aboard some vessel outward bound, thanks to his landlord, with no debt, no advance, and no recollection of how he came there. But shipping was hindered by Non-Importation and Non-Intercourse Acts, and "in consequence of not being able to get a birth on board a merchant ship," Mr. Helby's fix became acute. He might even find himself in jail.

At this juncture, it may be assumed, the resourceful landlord had an inspiration of a traditional character. There was the Navy, and the Navy was looking for men. Why had Helby not thought of it himself? Perhaps he had thought of it and put it in the back of his mind, for it is just possible that the idea was distasteful to him. He was an Englishman and would have heard, first hand, unpleasant things about the British Navy; there was flogging, for example. There is also the possibility that he had been impressed at one time or another. But needs must when the devil drives. Helby had little choice, and before he knew it he was making the best of his way with his landlord to the Navy Rendezvous which probably lay just off Market Street.

The landlord who thought of everything was certainly aware that his debtor was British. He wanted no slips in his plan, so it is quite logical to suppose that he took the precaution of fitting out Mr. Bowman with an American protection,⁵ although there was no law against enlist-

⁵ By Acts of Congress, May 28, 1796, it became the duty of Collectors of Ports to keep books in which the names of all seamen, producing proof of citizenship, were to be recorded, together with the said proof of citizenship. Upon payment of a fee of twenty-five cents by such seamen, it became the further duty of the Collector to issue a certificate reciting the citizenship of the seaman named.

ment by foreigners. By the same token Bowman may easily have gotten the protection himself, mindful of the fact that he might in some way run foul of the British Navy, that he might be impressed, or even claimed as a deserter. Perhaps he remembered that the *Leopard*, a British ship of war, had a few years before boarded the frigate *Chesapeake* in American waters and taken off certain members of her crew.

Whatever the reason the protection itself presented no difficulties. A group of waterfront gentlemen carried on quite a lively trade in protections for seamen, accommodating almost anyone for the small consideration of a dollar or two. It was necessary, however, for the applicant to adopt the name of the person described in the protection. If, then, Bowman happened to draw one bearing the name of Helby, he would naturally have assumed the latter name.

"I was induced," says Helby, "to enter as a seaman on board the *Hornet*, and for that purpose repaired to her rendezvous in Philadelphia."

If the idea of joining the Navy had occurred to Helby in one of his more sober moments, and he had searched the "General Advertiser" for a notice of the rendezvous, he would have looked in vain.⁶ At most he would have

⁶ Although there was little newspaper advertising for recruits during this period, the Navy seemed quite ready to advertise for deserters; witness the *Columbian Centinel* for September 23, 1812:

Fifty Dollars Reward ! !

Will be given for the apprehension of George Simpson, seaman—a Deserter from the frigate United States, Commodore Decatur, Commander:— he is about five feet seven inches high, black hair, dark eyes, about 28 years of age, wears his hair tied and has a little impediment in his speech. The above reward will be given, if delivered on board, or to me, at the Rendezvous in Fore Street.

John Gallagher
Recruiting Officer

Ten Dollars Reward.

Deserted from the Rendezvous for the U. S. frigate Congress, No. 50, Fish Street, Boston, on the 21st inst. a yellow man, by the name of Garset Johnson, (seaman) aged 19 years, 5 feet 9 inches high, or thereabout, dressed in a blue jacket, yellow trowsers, and red flannel shirt. Whoever will apprehend said

found a single line in the news section stating that a rendezvous had been opened for the *Hornet*. When the Essex frigate was recruiting her first crew at Salem, the town where she was built by citizen subscription, the *Salem Gazette* mentioned the fact in a single line without even stating where the rendezvous was being held, while at the same time that paper devoted a whole column to army recruiting. The truth of the matter is the seaman was not expected to read the newspapers, and he was not expected to be sober ashore. When it came to hunting up a naval rendezvous he could invariably count on a reliable guide such as William Helby's landlord.

On his reluctant way along the waterfront William may have spied a recruiting handbill or poster tacked up on the side of some house. Such bills were used in this country during the Revolution and the War of 1812, though few have been preserved. There is the handbill for John Paul Jones' *Ranger*, now in the Essex Institute at Salem, and another issued by the British at Philadelphia in 1777 in the possession of the writer, not to mention numerous ones issued by privateersmen.

Probably the most colorful recruiting handbill was that issued by the British for the *Leander* in 1813:

deserter and deliver him to the Rendezvous, or on board the U. S. frigate Congress, shall receive the above reward.

For John H. Elton
Rec'g Officer
C. O. Cannon

Deserters.

Eighty-five Dollars Reward!

Thomas Taylor and Peter McCarline, (marines) belonging to the U. S. ship *Hornet*, having deserted while indulged with liberty on shore—the Detachment of Marines on board ship offer forty five dollars to any person who will apprehend and deliver them on board the *Hornet*, or to any officer in the service of the United States—Independent of the above reward, Forty Dollars will be paid by Robert Moceby, Lieut. Commanding the Detachment on board ship. Taylor is about 29 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, grey eyes, brown hair, and sallow complexion, a blacksmith by trade—McCarline is about 5 feet 9 inches, blue eyes, light hair, and sallow complexion, by profession a soldier.

U. S. Ship *Hornet*, Boston Sept. 8 1812

Poster sent from the Leander 1813

Leander! Who would enter for small craft, when the Leander, the finest frigate in the world, with a good spar deck over head to keep you dry, warm, and comfortable and a lower deck like a barn, where you may play at leapfrog when the hammocks are hung up, has still room for a hundred active seamen, and a dozen stout lads for the royal yardsmen. This whacking double banked frigate is fitting at Woolwich, to be flagship on the fine healthy full bellied Halifax Station, where you may get a bushel of potatoes for a shilling, a cod for a biscuit, and a glass of Boatswain's grog for twopence. The officers' cabins are building on the main deck on purpose to give every two a double berth below. Lots of leave on shore; dancing and fiddling aboard, and four pounds of tobacco served out every month. A few strapping fellows who would eat an enemy alive are wanted for the Admiral's bargemen.

Sir G. R. Collier

But to return to William Helby: his guide did not take him to a recruiting office as we think of it today. Instead Helby found himself entering a shabby dockside tavern,⁷ sprinkled with more handbills, sawdust on the

⁷ The *Constitution* recruited in 1798 at the sign of the Eagle. The following notice which appeared in the *Columbian Centinel*, December 8, 1798, is of interest because it is one of the few newspaper advertisements used for recruiting by the American Navy in the early period.

FRIGATE CONSTITUTION

Notice is hereby given, that a few Able Bodied Seamen are wanted for the United States Frigate Constitution, Samuel Nicholson, Esq. Commander, for the term of twelve months, unless sooner discharged by the President of the United States. Seventeen Dollars per month will be given and two months advance.

THOSE BRAVE NEW ENGLAND SEAMEN who are disposed to serve their country, are requested to call at the Sign of the Eagle, kept by Mr. Thomas Sheriden in Fore Street, where they will receive every encouragement from an Officer of the Constitution, who will attend at the above house.

NONE WILL BE ALLOWED TO ENTER this honorable service, but such as are well organized, healthy, and robust, and free from scorbutic and consumptive affections.

N. B. Also wanted a Captain's clerk, a Captain's steward, Wardroom steward, and a Captain's cook. The former must be a young gentleman of character and genius.

Boston Nov. 21 '98

floor and a bit of bunting on the walls to impart an official atmosphere.

Here the Briton immediately felt himself at home. There was the familiar stench of rum and stale tobacco smoke, while some of the faces about him were nine chances out of ten those of cronies or shipmates. And what a landlord; a perfect prince of a man; one moment he was slapping his customers on the back and the next he was setting them up to a bowl of his best.

As glass followed glass the alcohol began to do its work until the distressed Britisher commenced to view his misfortunes with greater equanimity, and before long he had forgotten them altogether. The moment for action had arrived, and when he was ushered into a small private room, though a trifle hazy, Helby could still navigate, so from the sailor's point of view he was far from drunk. He could stand without a prop, and this may explain the paradox of his deposition when he says, "At the time I shipped I declare that I was perfectly sober."

Behind a small table sat Lt. Cassin in the role of recruiting officer, dapper and brisk in his naval uniform. With half an eye he could tell that the applicant was a true seaman. The roll of the man's gait, the remains of his tan, the hang of his clothes, and finally the words he used bespoke his profession in no uncertain terms. There was no chance whatever of his being rejected by the ship's surgeon.

What Lt. Cassin said and what the crimp and William Helby answered is not recorded, but it is evident that the latter passed muster with the recruiting officer, and that wittingly or otherwise, he signed the articles which lay on the table between them. William Helby, come what might, was entered in the American Navy; with his somewhat unsteady hand aloft he had sworn "to serve the United States of America honestly and faithfully for the term of two years, unless sooner discharged." And that sealed the matter. The sworn statement of Elizabeth Bowman shows that he was to regret this rash step which has gone down in history, but in the pleasant, friendly

atmosphere of the tavern Helby foresaw no disadvantages in it.

Lt. Cassin kept strict accounts and promptly credited his books with the recruiting allowance.⁸ He had no latitude and could not, like Capt. Truxton, throw in a beaver hat and a black silk handkerchief.⁹

There was, however, the welcome three months' advance which raised a slight problem. It is one thing to hook your fish and quite another to bring him aboard, as the saying goes. Helby, though encouraged, was not obliged to report on shipboard at once, always provided he could produce someone to stand security for him. In his deposition he says "as soon as I received my three

⁸ Letter from Ben Stoddard Sec. of the Navy to
Edward Preble

Sir —

. . . You will commence the recruiting business so as to admit of your complement being procured by the time the ship (Essex) is ready for sea. Able seamen you will allow seventeen dollars per month, ordinary seamen and boys from five to fourteen dollars according to merit. All to be entered to serve one year from the ships first weighing anchor on a cruise.

. . . You will allow the recruits two months advance, but previously take care to obtain sufficient security to resort to in case of desertion.

You will suffer none to enter but such as are sound and healthy, and permit no indirect or forcible means to be used to induce them to enter the service. Every man entered will take oath agreeably to the form you will receive herewith.

Six thousand dollars will be remitted you to effect this business and should the sum prove insufficient, you will apply to the Navy agent for a farther supply.

You must advance to your recruiting officers, who will be allowed besides their pay and rations, two dollars for each recruit in full for every expense of recruiting, except in cases where their provisioning and transportation to the ship will be allowed, but they must be economical in their expenditures, for no extravagant charge will be admitted, and no charge will be admitted without a proper voucher.

.....
Ben. Stoddard.

⁹ "A rendezvous was now opened to enter men for another years cruise, and Capt. Truxton gave every one of his old hands who would enter, a beaver hat, and a black silk handkerchief, two months advance pay, and two weeks liberty on shore. Capt. Truxton soon had the pleasure of seeing the greater part of his old hands re-enter."—*The Yankee Tar*, by John Hoxse.

months advance I went on board the gunboat lying off the Navy Yard . . . with the officer commanding her and the landlord of the rendezvous."¹⁰ Here again there is room for interpretation. There was money to be spent, and persons ready, for their own purposes to stand security; thus it is easier to accept the view that Helby's "as soon as" was a trifle elastic. He states that the landlord of the rendezvous accompanied him aboard the gunboat which he ordinarily would have been obliged to do where he stood security.

So after all was said and done it is probably not wide of the mark to guess that a cruise ashore was arranged. Helby was not only in the Navy, he was in funds as well for a short time. Three months' advance must have amounted to at least thirty-six dollars which surely was enough for a major celebration. Exactly what form the celebration took may only be surmised. The chances are, however, that it was not original, and that Helby, with the crimp constantly at his elbow, followed the footsteps of generations of sailors ashore.

The crimp landlord, it will be remembered, had engaged with Lt. Cassin to see his ward safe aboard in the morning, and good as his word he produced the new recruit at the appointed hour. At this moment it is more than probable that Helby was drunk, even by his own definition; and his condition, no doubt, bore testimony to his

¹⁰ James' *Naval Occurences*, page 241, gives an account of recruiting in Boston for the *Chesapeake* before her engagement with the *Shannon*. In this case the men were apparently taken aboard directly.

"He declares that the greater part of the *Chesapeake's* crew, as was very customary in the service, re-entered; that to fill up her compliment, four houses of rendezvous were opened; that the moment a man declared himself a candidate, he received a dollar, and accompanied an officer to the ship; where he was examined as to his knowledge of seamanship, age, muscular strength, etc. by a board of officers, consisting of the master, surgeon, and others; that if approved, he signed the articles and remained where he was; if rejected, returned home with a dollar in his pocket; that frequently, out of five boat-loads of men that would go off to the ship in the course of the day, three would come back, not eligible."

latest adventures. It is further possible that he was sodden, half naked, and certainly penniless, as he was obliged to reckon with his landlord.¹¹

Elizabeth Bowman's deposition states "that he was compelled against his inclination to go on board the *Hornet*" which was highly probable, and equally so in the case of the receiving ship. Little ceremony was used in conveying drunken sailors aboard these receiving ships; and, if conscious, the men would naturally resist being tossed into the bottom of the small boat which was to carry them aboard ship. So here again there appears to be no contradiction in the depositions of Helby and his wife.

William Helby gives no description of the gunboat which was receiving for the *Hornet*, but at that time this class of vessel reflected little credit on the Government. One account is preserved in the excellent autobiography of Samuel Holbrook, who served as carpenter's mate during the War of 1812. It is illuminating and fully worth quoting, even if not a model of English prose, for the picture it gives of a side of Navy life which has been kept in the background. Holbrook writes as follows:

"Accordingly we were put on board the old prize ship *Alert*. She was the first prize taken by the frigate *Essex*, and as she was rather old, was converted into a receiving ship.

¹¹ Rules and Regulations, and Instructions for the Naval Service of the United States, Washington, 1818. Regulations Relative to Recruiting, No. 13, p. 146.

"That seamen should be rescued, as far as practicable, from the fangs of rapacious landlords, and others, who, frequently taking advantage of their habits of intoxication, and generally unsuspecting characters, swindle them of the whole amount advanced to them by the recruiting officer, and to the prejudice of the seamen and the service generally, leave them in a naked and destitute condition at the time of their appearance on board. To prevent these practices, recruiting officers should be directed never to deliver the advance into the hands of any other than the man enlisted; to use every argument to induce all persons enlisting to repair on board the receiving ship with his clothing; in which case he should be authorized to make the customary advance without taking security, and he should be particularly directed to attend to collecting and sending on board all the clothing and other effects of seamen and others, entered for the service, and take every means in his power to render the service as pleasing as possible."

"When I first went on board this filthy tub my heart sank within me. I thought the gunboat was the filthiest thing that floated, but as the saying goes, she was not a circumstance to the old Alert.

"As a general thing, order and discipline are seldom found to prevail to any extent on board of a receiving ship. In some cases they are commanded by some old worn-out or super-annuated naval officer, whose energy, if he ever had any, has entirely gone out. Or perhaps the command is given to some dissipated fellow who does not know how to treat men. And then the seamen who are put on board these dismal abodes, are constantly shifting; some probably do not remain twenty four hours. So there is but little opportunity for establishing any permanent rules and regulations on board a receiving ship, whatever may be the disposition of the commander.

"At the time I was on board the Alert she was commanded by a drunken tyrannical master's mate.

"I had hardly stepped from the ladder, when close by me, this master's mate knocked a man down for not touching his hat when he passed him. Everything was in the utmost disorder; men were drunk and roaring about the deck, and away forward, in a hole which they called the sick bay, were some dozen miserable creatures. One was raving in a paroxysm of delirium tremens; there were ten in the last stages of consumption, and could not live many hours, and several with fever and diarrhoea. And such a smell!

"There were about two hundred men and boys on board this ship, who had been recruited for the Flying Squadron.

"The weather was very cold and stormy, and many of these poor fellows had sold every article of clothing, except what they stood in, for rum. Hence they were unprotected from the weather. The ration of a half pint of raw whisky was served to each man at seven and a half o'clock in the morning, and scarcely a dozen out of the whole crew that had a blanket or a bed. The government furnished them with a hammock, and many kept themselves too drunk to hang them up, and would lie down and sleep upon the wet deck; then followed severe colds,

which often terminated in consumption, fever, and death. But the half pint of raw whisky in the morning gave them new life for a short time, and then they were down again.

"One morning a dead man was found on the berth deck, near the main hatch. The poor fellow had died during the night, probably from exposure, as he possessed neither bed nor clothing. It appeared that there was no one on whom the duty of taking proper care of the corpse devolved, so it lay there all that day, frozen stiff."¹²

Once aboard the *Hornet*, although not wholly to his liking, Helby must have found things quite different, but a description of life aboard a sloop of war does not fall within the scope of this paper. Nor is the rest of Helby's history material to this case which is limited to the various phases of recruiting. Helby, through his deposition, has wholly by accident preserved for us valuable facts relative to recruiting in 1811, and has officially established the use of the landlord system by the United States Navy in that year.

¹² See page 86, *Holbrook Autobiography*.

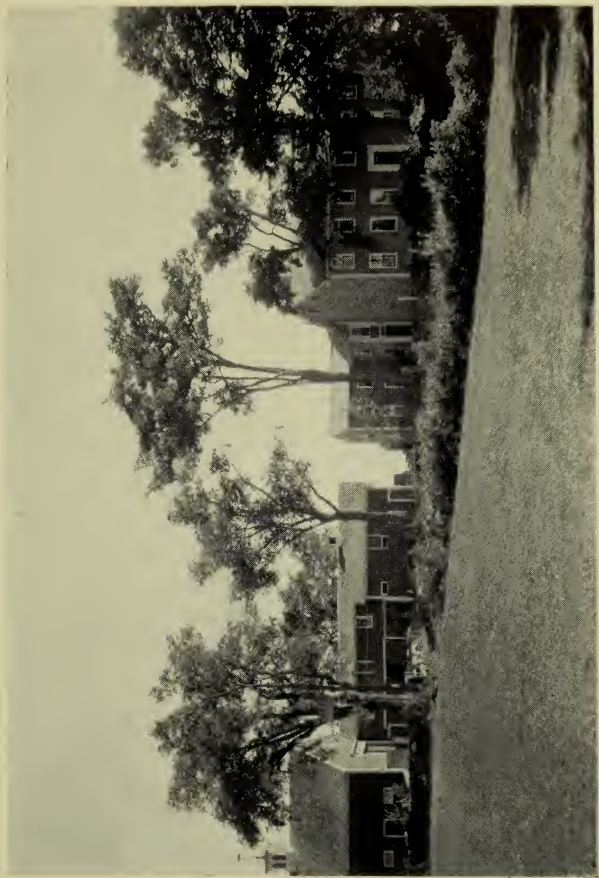
JOHN COGSWELL'S GRANT AND SOME OF THE HOUSES THEREON, 1636-1839.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE JONATHAN COGSWELL
HOUSE, WHICH STANDS AT THE END OF SPRING STREET,
ESSEX, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY NINA FLETCHER LITTLE.

The history of the Cogswell Grant really begins in the town of Leigh, county of Wiltshire, England, in 1592, for in that year was born John Cogswell, son of Edward and Alice Cogswell, who, when he reached the age of forty-three years, was to set sail for America, there to found the family which bears his name. In 1615 he married Elizabeth Thompson, and on May 23, 1635, they and their eight children left Bristol, England, on the ship *Angel Gabriel*, bound for New England. John is said to have been a manufacturer of woollen cloth and was apparently a man of some means, as he brought with him a considerable amount of household goods and also several servants. With the Cogswells on the *Angel Gabriel* was the Rev. Richard Mather, father and grandfather of Increase and Cotton Mather, famous Boston divines, also John and Thomas Burnham, who settled here in Chebacco. On August 14th the ship arrived at the Isle of Shoals, and on the morning of the 15th arose a storm, the traces of which remained for many years. The *Angel Gabriel* went to pieces, and "100 passengers, 23 seamen, 23 cows and heyfers, 3 sucking calves and mares" were washed ashore on the beach at Pemaquid. Here John left his family while he went to Boston and made arrangements with a Captain Gallup to transport him and his wife and children to the newly settled town of Ipswich.¹

In 1636 John received two grants from the town. One of these was a plot of ground, "Upon part whereof ye sd John Cogswell hath built an house."² This lot was in the center of Ipswich, and probably actually contained



FRONT OF THE JONATHAN COGSWELL HOUSE, CIRCA 1730 - 1740

Large barn of nineteenth century construction Small barn ell probably contemporary with the house

about twelve acres.³ The second grant was one of three hundred acres and is entered in the original Book of Grants, from which I copied it, in these words, "Granted to Mr. John Cogswell 300 acres of land at the further Chebokoe, having the river on the southeast, land of William White on the northwest, and the creek coming out of the river toward William White's farm on the northeast. Bounded also on the west with a creek and a little brook."⁴ The western boundary of this land was what is now the main road from Ipswich to Gloucester, also the brook in back of the old cemetery. The Essex River flowed on the south and east, and a creek made the northeastern boundary. The boundaries of the original grant have changed amazingly little in 300 years, and most of the land is still contained in the property owned by Mr. David Choate and ourselves.

John Cogswell died in 1669, and the question of the exact location of his house during the thirty-three years of his life in Ipswich cannot be stated with certainty. The *Cogswell Family History* states that "sometime in 1636 he put up a log house and removed to further Chebokoe where he spent the rest of his days."⁵ The deeds of land which passed between him and his sons do not seem to bear out this statement.

Let us now turn to the second generation of Cogswells, giving particular attention to John's two sons, William, born in England in 1619, and John, Jr., born in 1622. On November 30, 1651, John, Sr., and Elizabeth his wife, deeded to their son William a parcel of ground containing 60 acres, which was bounded on the southeast by Chebacco River, and one corner of which was "upon son William's barn."⁶ This is the first mention that I have found of a building on the Grant, and for reasons which will appear later, I believe that this deed to William embraced the lot where the present house now stands, and that he had his house upon this very site.

A few days after this deed was executed, John, Sr. and Elizabeth deeded to their younger son John, Jr. 60 acres of land, "In consideration that he hath yielded to me all his right unto the house and lands at the Falls."⁷ This

property was given to Cornelius Waldo, husband of their daughter Hannah.⁸ Almost immediately John, Jr. sold his 60 acres to his brother William,⁹ and then six years later, on February 16, 1657 we find a most interesting deed. "I John Cogswell (Sr.) having been granted by the Town 300 acres, whereas I have granted part of said farme to John who sold to William, and part to William, in consideration of 230 pounds of currant money of New England, have sold my whole farm (except 12 acres formerly sold to Roger Hascall) to said William Cogswell."¹⁰ Here we see practically the whole of the original grant transferred by John, Sr. to his son William. There is no mention of any house, however, and I believe that the only houses on the Grant were William's on his first 60 acres, and possibly his brother John, Jr.'s. John, Sr.'s inventory at his death in 1669 mentions "A house, barn, and 10 acres of upland etc." and a small amount of household goods.¹¹ This was a small holding of property and if it had been on the big grant it would have belonged to William, and so would not have appeared in John's inventory. Therefore I presume that he lived on the small grant in the town of Ipswich where we know that at one time he did build a house.

Returning now to Chebacco, let us see what we can find out about John, Jr. and William, the second generation of Cogswells on the Grant. John, Jr. devoted himself to farming, and in 1651 he leased of the feofees of the grammar school the neck beyond Chebacco River and the rest of the ground up to Gloucester line. The lease was to be to him and his heirs and assigns forever, in consideration of an annuity of 14 pounds, to be paid in butter, pork and corn.¹² He made no disposition of this lease in his will, but in his inventory it was valued at 100 pounds,^{12a} and his heirs retained some connection with it for many years. At various times there were difficulties with the tenants of the farm and these were finally carried into court in 1729, and the Town received 100 pounds from Gifford Cogswell, John, Jr.'s grandson, "On account of charges at law abt the School Farm."¹³

John, Jr.'s wife died in 1652, and leaving his three

children in care of his sister, Hannah Cogswell Waldo, he left for a visit to England, but died on the passage home. His son, John, 3rd, was brought up by his uncle William, and when he was twenty-five years old he sued his uncle for an account of the estate of his father.¹⁴ A long legal battle followed, and from the records of the Essex County Quarterly Courts, we can glean some interesting facts about the early days of the Grant. In a letter written to his parents from London before his death, John, Jr. says, "I pray Father and Mother, be careful of the little corn, cattle, goods, and my house and land that it be not forfeited, for I am in a very sad condition here, and have nothing to pay my debts withall, but what is in your hands."¹⁵ During the lawsuit before mentioned,¹⁶ W. Roper deposed that he was employed by John, Jr. to build this house; that it was well furnished with household stuff, pewter, brass, three feather beds, and a flock bed. There were two good feather beds on which they lay before they came into the great house. This would suggest that there had been a smaller abode previously. Also in the house was plate, silver spoons, and brass pans for milk, "Sometimes used to cool wort in." About this house raged much of the battle between John, 3rd and his uncle William. One of the neighbors, Robert Cross, testified that when young John took possession of his land the house and barn were tenantable, but William Story deposed that it was in very bad condition, that cattle passed through and people were afraid it would fall down on them. In 1674 William repaired the house and barn by "groundselling" and charged it to his nephew's account. Young John objected to the charges, and a neighbor (John Colman) testified that he had lived 21 years near the house in controversy and that it had never been "groundselled" until John had done it himself, and that the barn was only repaired when William wanted to store some corn in it, and then he would put up a board to stop a hole, or a little thatch with straw. The entry for "thatching and boarding the barn" is still preserved in the Massachusetts Archives. This is an interesting reference to the actual use of thatch for roof-

ing, as although the marshes along the river in this vicinity are often referred to as "thatch banks" it is not thought that thatching as it is known in England was ever much used in New England. We have no way of knowing just where this "great house" of John, Jr.'s stood or what happened to it. In one of the depositions it is stated that it stood on the north side of the river, so it no doubt was located somewhere on the Grant. As it was evidently in poor condition in 1675 when John, 3rd brought suit against his uncle, it probably soon disappeared. His inventory taken in 1724 mentions no real estate,¹⁷ although he and his wife Margaret Gifford of Lynn probably lived in Ipswich.¹⁸ His son, John, 4th, died possessed of 65 acres of land with dwelling house, barn and orchard, and two woodlots worth 368 pounds.¹⁹ This was somewhere in Chebacco, but probably not on the Grant.

As I have already mentioned, we know that William Cogswell had a barn on the Grant in 1651 (although the first actual mention of his house is in 1657),²⁰ in which year his father deeded him his first 60 acres. As he had been married in 1649 to Susanna Hawkes of Charlestown, it is fair to presume that he had a house also by this date. At the death of his brother John, Jr. in 1653, William and his father became legal guardians of his nephew and two nieces, and it is interesting to read his own account, taken from the Court records, of how he attended to their education. The following paragraph also proves that he and his father each had separate houses at this date: "In 1653 and 1654 we kept a school dame in my Father's house to teach my brother Cogswell's children, and after 1654 to Sept. 1659 we endeavored to teach these children in reading. In Sept. 1659 my Father and the rest of his family came and lived in the house with me until . . . 1660, and the rest of their employment was to teach the children to write and read. From 1660 to 1663 I had a man lived with me which I gave 12 pounds a year unto that could write and read, and I added to his wages 8 or 10 shillings and allowed him time to perfect John in his writing."²¹ Another entry which gives a glimpse of a

boy's life in the 17th century is the following: "When John 3rd was a boy of sixteen he had to sweep the house, tend the children, wash the dishes, milk the cows, and clean the cattle at Mr. William Cogswell's."²²

Until 1698 the main road from Ipswich to Gloucester left the present road by the Lane farm, crossed the high fields, and came through Strawberry Lane, and from there passed the site of the present house and went straight down to the River.^{22a} In 1656 the town of Ipswich arranged with William for the use of this road. The entry appears in the Town Records, but apparently no deed was ever filed in the Registry in Salem. "Granted to William Cogswell in full satisfaction for the highway through his father's and his farm, three acres and a half of land joining to Thomas Bishop's land on the back side of his farm. . . . Also agreed with William Cogswell to keep a ferry on Chebacco River, for which he is to have two pence a person for everyone he carries over."²³ If his house stood on our site, it backed directly on the main road, and was most conveniently located for the operation of a ferry at the foot of the slope. This ferry was replaced by a horse bridge in 1666.²⁴ In the Ipswich records for the year 1698 appears the first hint of the present highway to Gloucester by a bridge built over the marshes. It was suggested that the Town of Ipswich should purchase the marsh, build the bridge, and gravel the highway, if it would please Gloucester to provide the timber for building.²⁵

"In 1665 such inroads had been made upon the oaks and other valuable trees that the Town of Ipswich ordered the Selectmen to issue a permit before a tree could be cut."²⁶ Subsequent to this order there are some valuable "felling" permits in the Town records.

By 1668 William Cogswell was almost fifty years old; he had ten children of his own, and in addition had been the guardian of his brother's three children. He had acquired his father's entire original grant of 300 acres, to which he had added slightly, and he was one of the most prominent men in the community. He was largely instrumental in persuading the General Court to allow

Chebacco to become a separate parish, and he gave the land on which the first Meeting House was erected.²⁷ About this time he must have enlarged his outbuildings and improved his home lot for the following "felling grants" appear in the Town Records: "1668, to Mr. Cogswell, liberty to fell timber for the end of a barn, for an outhouse, and 2 trees for planks for a barn floor, and for 200 rayles and posts for a yard by his house, and a tree for stakes for hedging." "1770, William Cogswell granted liberty to fell trees for 4,000 foot of boards." The Town was strict, however, in checking up on any trees cut without permission, as witness the following, "Wm Story informed the Selectmen that Wm. Cogswell hath felled seven white oaks without leave, the Constable is ordered to distrain him of 10 shillings for every tree, according to Town order."²⁸

For fifty years the 300 acres of the original grant were held intact, but in 1687 William, approaching three score years and ten, decided to divide his land just as his father had done many years before. Accordingly he executed deeds for different parts of the property to each of his four sons, the land not becoming legally theirs, however, until after the death of him and his wife.

To William, the eldest son, he gave "several parcels," one of them, according to Mr. Choate in the *Essex Echo*, being on the present Lane farm, and the others being at the eastern end of the whole property toward Point of Rocks.²⁹

To John he gave land between the Ipswich road and Spring Street and in this deed Spring Street is laid out for the first time as a highway to this farm. "I Wm. Cogswell grant to son John land bounded on the north-west and west by Ipswich common, to a white oak tree where the gate hangs, and a rod beyond, which rod in breadth shall be reserved in length to Jonathan's land for a perpetual highway for the common benefit of those that shall dwell upon my farm."³⁰

To Adam he gave all the property to the south of Spring Street and in this deed he also reserved an area round the spring in these words, "Also at the west corner of

this parcel of land shall be reserved a quarter of an acre of land about the spring for a watering place in common."³¹

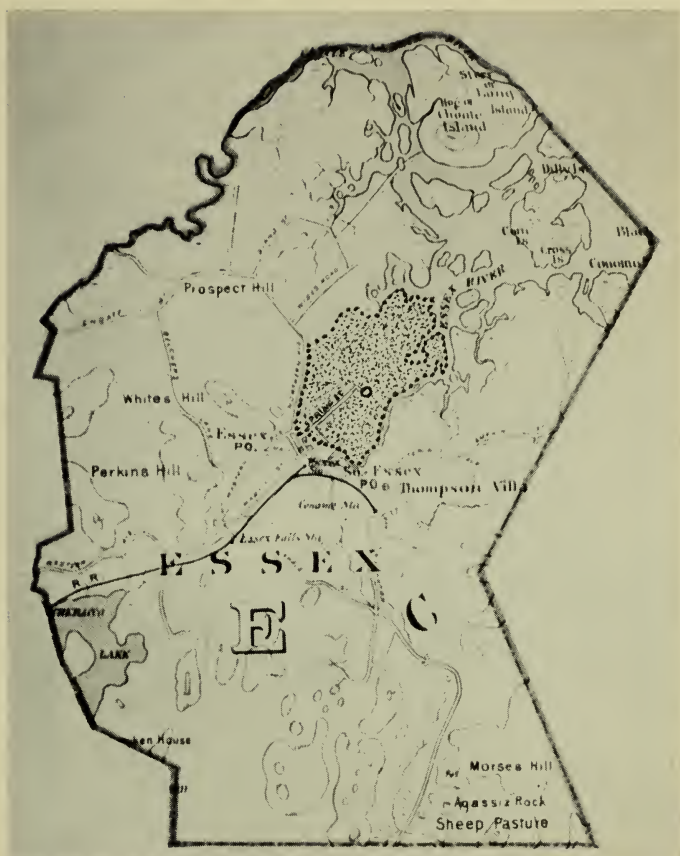
To his son Jonathan he gave his dwelling house and 80 acres. As this deed is of great interest in connection with this farm, I shall quote it more fully than the previous ones. "In consideration of my promise unto my son Jonathan upon marriage, have given a parcel of land containing four score acres, together with all housing, outhousing, barns and malt house that are or shall be upon said four score acres. Which said land is bounded on the west corner by a red oak marked, and from thence along the dam before the farmhouse to the end of the creek by Chebacco River, ye south corner. So down the river, to ye mouth of ye creek commonly called Hog creek. And so along ye creek to a stake standing there, being east corner. And from thence on a straight line to a stake in the fresh meadow being north corner. And from thence straight to the red oak aforementioned. Also my son Jonathan shall have liberty of egress and regress through my other lands, and convenient highways without purchase, as his needs shall require, for ye improvement of ye premises, he and his heirs forever. I do hereby reserve to myself and beloved wife Susanna, during the time of our natural life, and the longer liver of us, the sole approvement of the aforesaid fore score acres and housing, but at the death of me and my present wife Susanna, and not till then, the whole premises afore mentioned shall be said Jonathans. . . . At my death it shall be lawful my son Jonathan to possess, actually occupy and improve said gift of land, to have and hold quietly and peaceably, to enjoy with a share of commonage with the rest of his brothers."³²

You will have noted that the location of William's farmhouse is placed by the mention of the dam before it, and of the creek leading from the dam to the river. A dam still spans the marsh here in front of the house, connecting with the creek which is mentioned in the deed. Taken in conjunction with the other bounds of Jonathan's property, and the fact that the house would have

fronted on the dam and backed directly on the main road to Gloucester, it seems a certainty that William's house stood, at least in 1688, on or about the same site that this house occupies today. If, as tradition records, his house was up near the first Meeting House, he may have given that house to his son William, and built a new house down here sometime before his deed to Jonathan. Mention of this dam as a boundary is contained in three later deeds, once in 1754 when part of Adam's land was sold to the Choate family,³³ again in 1839 when this farm was transferred to the Boyds,³⁴ and in our own deed of 1937.³⁵

Particular interest also attaches to the malt-house as one of the buildings on William's farm. Mr. Crowell's history of Essex tells us that there was an oven at one end of the building, above which, on a lattice was spread a large hair cloth or malt screen. Upon this the barley was laid to dry. It was then carried to a mill at the other end of the house, and after grinding became malt.³⁶ Walnut wood was used as fuel for the kilns,³⁷ and in 1651 mention is made of walnut trees on the Grant.³⁸ Soon after we came here we discovered an old mill stone behind the house, half buried in the ground. It was not until we found this deed that we realized that it is probably one of the grinding stones from William's 17th century malt-house, which perhaps stood on that very spot. The stone has been left just as when found.

The next document of importance in connection with this farm is William Cogswell's will, dated the fifth day of August, 1696.³⁹ Following the uncommon practice of writing the entire will in his own hand, it is now almost impossible to decipher, by reason of the wording, spelling, and penmanship, which are of true 17th century type! It was not until I had obtained a photostat copy and worked over it for several weeks that I was able to gather the main facts of its contents. As I suspected, however, it was well worth the effort. Further small parcels of land were given to William, Jr., Adam, and John, but "to my son Jonathan, no share of said land, because he had a bigger share of my other lands than the rest of



MAP OF ESSEX, MASSACHUSETTS

With shaded area showing approximate location of John Cogswell's original 300-acre Grant
in relation to the boundaries of the present town

Circle indicates position of the remaining Cogswell house

his brothers." To his daughters he left all of his household goods, except small but important items to each of his sons: "To William, my crane and andirons, and his son Edward to have the andirons after him. Also my long iron spit, and the iron of the cart wheels. To John, my lesser fouling piece, my sword and belt, my timber chain and my cart and wheels. To Adam an iron cittel that was lent to him, also a pair of iron cart wheels and chain."

To Jonathan, of course, went the ownership of the house after his father's death, and the items left to him in the will are significant, "To Jonathan, my iron crane, my long ladder which stands against the house, my malt screen and measures, my bushel, half bushel and peack."

The inventory of William's estate which was filed with the will mentions three parcels of land, but no houses or buildings of any kind. This would indicate that he had only the one house which would legally become Jonathan's at his death, and so would not appear as part of William's estate. In the inventory are mentioned articles in the following rooms: "Ye parlor, parlor chamber, west chamber, and the seler." There may have been other rooms not listed, undoubtedly there was a kitchen. Nevertheless this affords us the only description, meagre as it is, of the one house that we know positively stood on the Grant in the 17th century.

Leaving Jonathan's inheritance for the moment, let us see if there are any records of the houses lived in by his three brothers after they came into possession of their share of the Grant after William's death in 1700. Frankly I have not been able to prove very much to my own satisfaction from the tangle of deeds at the Salem Registry. Mr. Choate, in the *Essex Echo* for December, 1908, says that William, Jr. was given land on the present Lane farm, and that the house in back, which has now disappeared, was originally a Cogswell house and was transferred from the Cogswells to Thomas Choate about 1750. I have not been able to find this deed, but if Mr. Choate is correct, this may have been the house built and lived

in by William, Jr.⁴⁰ after his marriage to Martha Emerson in 1685.⁴¹ The inventory of his estate⁴² taken at his death in 1708 shows him to have been perhaps the largest land holder of the four brothers. It lists among other things, "70 acres of upland and marsh, the homestead in Chebacco with housing of all sorts valued at 243 pounds. 26 acres of land at ye neck and point of rocks, and in addition, 60 acres at Loblolly Cove, (now part of Rockport), mills in Gloucester, and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of Little River Saw Mill." His house contained a parlor and chamber, kitchen and chamber, and porch chamber. This last usually referred to the space over the built-on entrance hall. Old pictures of the house show it to have been a salt-box, but, if it ever had a porch, it had been removed in later years.

Adam Cogswell was given land to the south of Spring Street, and his house no doubt stood where the Choate house now stands.⁴³ Adam owned two dwelling houses when he died,⁴⁴ but he had given the original homestead to his son William,⁴⁵ and in William's will of 1719 he mentions "Dwelling house with homestead of lands remaining from deed of gift of my father."⁴⁶ Parts of Adam's property were sold to the Choate family in 1743,⁴⁷ 1754,⁴⁸ and 1757,⁴⁹ by deeds which mention the spring, and also the dam which was the eastern boundary of Adam's original gift of land. Thomas Choate came to own at least part of the original Adam Cogswell house, as in his will of 1773 he bequeaths his interest in it to his four sons.⁵⁰ Rev. John Cleaveland, long pastor of the Chebacco church, lived in this old house for many years, and after his death Mr. David Choate took it down and erected the present house early in the 19th century. One small shed room is said to have been part of the original house.⁵¹

To John was given land between this farm and the main road. For the location of his house I have to rely again on the *Essex Echo* which says that it stood, "On the northeast side of Turtle Pond Lane at the upper end of the oblong field containing an acre and a half of

ground." The house was taken down early in the 19th century, and the cellar hole filled in about 1825.⁵² John's inventory, at his death in 1710, lists housings, lands, commonage rights, etc., to the value of 600 pounds.⁵³ In this house was born John's son William, who in 1732 built the gambrel-roofed house on the main road which many will remember as lived in by the Cogswell family until comparatively recent times.⁵⁴

Having now spoken of the houses of William, Adam, and John, we will return to this farm which was given to the fourth son Jonathan. He was Justice of the Peace, and held a Captain's commission, and this interest in law and military matters was inherited by his son and grandson. We know that Captain Jonathan inherited William's house upon the latter's death in 1700. But unfortunately when Jonathan himself died in 1717 no inventory was made of his estate, so we have no details of his property as we have of his three brothers. That he added to the land given him by his father we know, because he mentions in his will⁵⁵ a half part of Cross Island, salt marsh bought of John Burnham, and one common right in the undivided lands in Gloucester. He left considerable sums of money to each of his six daughters, and bequeathed the entire remaining property to his beloved son, Jonathan, Jr., but there was no description of land or buildings.

During the 18th century the Cogswells, in common with many of the well-to-do families in this vicinity, kept negro and Indian slaves. Although these were transferred from father to son with other household possessions, nevertheless they are always referred to in the old wills as servants, never as slaves. Adam Cogswell's inventory⁵⁶ mentions a negro man and woman, and Captain Jonathan left to his wife in 1717 a negro boy Jack and Indian maid Nell.⁵⁷ Thomas Wade's will in 1737 mentions, "My negro girl who is now at my daughter Cogswell's and I account her at 40 pounds."⁵⁸ There are many speculations as to where the slaves slept, and a fireplace in the attic of the Cogswell house on the main

road seems to indicate that it was for their use.⁵⁹ I believe that they used the lean-to chamber in this house, and I am told that the slave's bench that stood in front of the kitchen fireplace was preserved in our attic until recent years.⁶⁰

Jonathan, Jr. was born in 1687, the same year that his grandfather William divided up the Grant. He is of special interest to us as we believe that it was he who took down the old house and built the present one in its stead. Just when this was done we have, at present, no means of knowing, but a careful scrutiny of the chief events of Jonathan, Jr.'s life seems to point to a date not far from 1730. Jonathan, Sr. died in 1717, and three months later his son married Hannah Wiggins of Strat-ham, N. H. A year later their son was born, and all seems to have gone quietly until 1723 when disaster overtook the family, and Jonathan's wife, young son, and mother all died within five months of one another.^{60a} For the next seven years we hear nothing of him, and then in July of 1730 he married Elizabeth Wade, daughter of a prominent Ipswich family.⁶¹ In 1733 he was appointed Justice of the Peace, an important civil office. It seems fair to suppose that after his second marriage, and with the rapid increase of his family, he would find the simple old house of his grandfather, with its crude 17th century interior, too small and cramped. And it seems logical that he would build himself a house on the same site utilizing the same cellar, the same mammoth chimney with its four large fireplaces, and some of the old timbers and boarding, having, however, new-fashioned panelling instead of the plain sheathing, and plastered walls and ceilings in place of the exposed framing of the earlier period. From careful examination of the house we believe that this is exactly what he did, and I will go into this more carefully when I speak of the construction of the present house.

In 1749 Elizabeth Wade Cogswell died, two weeks after the birth of her eleventh child. Jonathan, Jr. was not long in following her, dying on April 2, 1752 at the



OLD KITCHEN WITH SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FIREPLACE IN END CHIMNEY

The mantel shelf is original with the building of the present house, circa 1730 - 1740



SOUTHEAST LOWER ROOM

This mid-eighteenth century ceiling was recently uncovered. It had never been plastered until about 1850.
Hand-made spikes for drying herbs and fruit may be seen as found in the heavy summer beam.

age of sixty-five years.⁶² Many papers were filed in connection with the settlement of his estate, and so we may ascertain certain facts about the family and the farm during the next ten years. The most interesting document, and probably the most important in connection with this house, is the inventory of his estate, filed in 1752.⁶³ It is one of the most complete inventories that I have ever had the good luck to find, as it lists the property in detail, and also names each room of the house with its contents and the value of every item. It lists a parlor, parlor chamber, hall, hall chamber, old and new kitchens with chambers, pantries, and "several little rooms." Excerpts from this inventory will give you an idea of the contents of a prosperous farm in the mid-eighteenth century.

Mr. Cogswell owned 2 silver tankards valued together at nearly \$100.00, 1 silver cup, 3 silver porringers, and 8 silver spoons. On a large built-in dresser in the kitchen stood 34 pewter plates, 12 pewter platters, 3 basins and many smaller pieces. In every room there was a set of 10 or 12 chairs, variously called "carved," "cane," and "black," the total in the house numbering 70, and in each room but the parlor and the kitchen stood a big bed hung with curtains to keep out the winter drafts. The cooking utensils which graced the wide hearth included such intriguing articles as kettles and skillets of brass, box irons and heaters, trammels on which to hang the big pots, slices for lifting pies out of the brick ovens, and 34 milk pans and pots which stood on the broad pantry shelves. A coffee pot is also mentioned, although Felt, the historian, says that this beverage was not supposedly introduced into Ipswich until 30 years later.⁶⁴

Jonathan, Jr. died possessed of a home lot of 140 acres, 90 acres at the northerly end of Thomas Giddings Hill, 70 acres of woodland lying in Gloucester, and house and land in Beverly. His farm was stocked with 18 cows, 6 voke of oxen, 110 sheep and 9 swine. Debts totalling nearly \$1,000.00 were owed his estate by such prominent

Chebacco residents as Thomas Low, Josiah Dodge, Josiah Burnham and many others.

Jonathan's will⁶⁵ left money to his daughters, rights in Ipswich Canada and Wilderness Hill pasture to two of his sons, and to Jonathan, 3rd a silver tankard, great gun, and the residue of his estate. Ipswich Canada later became the Town of Winchendon, and men who had joined the expedition against Canada in 1690 were admitted as grantees. The Cogswell family had several of these rights, probably inherited from Adam and John, sons of William.⁶⁶

Jonathan, Jr.'s death left his family of six surviving children without father or mother, the eldest being 17 and the youngest two years of age.⁶⁷ Jonathan Low was appointed executor, and looked after the family's affairs until Jonathan, 3rd came of age in 1761. Mr. Low's accounts are on file in Salem and from them we can form a picture of the Cogswell family for the next ten years. The farm was rented from 1753 to 1759, inclusive, bringing in sums varying from 53 to 67 pounds per annum. Abigail and Susanna were boarded with Mathew Whipple, Elizabeth married Nathaniel Farley two years after her father's death, and Mary was boarded with Henry Wise for two years; at the end of which time she married his son John. Joseph Appleton was appointed guardian to the two younger sons, Nathaniel and William, and the boarding, clothing and schooling of Jonathan, 3rd for four years cost the estate about \$500.00. Family finances were poor, probably partly because of the many debts owing to Jonathan at the time of his death, and so some of the silver plate, cane-back chairs, candlesticks, and "sundry articles" were sold to raise funds. In view of this fact, the following entry, which occurs in June, 1752, is hard to explain, "To shingling of whole house, window frames, cross pieces, nails etc. 36 pounds, 9 shillings and 3 pence."⁶⁸

In 1761 Jonathan Cogswell, 3rd was 21 years old, Mr. Low was discharged as executor by the Court, and Jonathan took over the management of his inheritance.⁶⁹

Seven years later, on February 4, 1768 he married Elizabeth Wise, granddaughter of the Rev. John Wise, and brought her as a bride to this house. Here their five children were born, but in 1791 he purchased the old Pickering place (now the Hobbs house) on Western Avenue and moved into the town.⁷⁰ So for the second time the farm was leased to tenants, and this period was to be a long one, forty-eight years. Tradition says that his sister, Mary Cogswell Wise, lived for a time in the house.⁷¹ Jonathan, 3rd followed in the footsteps of his forebears, being Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Court of Sessions, and very prominent in both military and civic activity during and after the Revolution.⁷²

His son, Jonathan, 4th was born in this house in 1783. He was a Colonel in the local infantry, and being engaged to be married would no doubt have made the old farm his home. Unfortunately he died quite suddenly at the age of 30 years.⁷³

His father, Jonathan, 3rd, died in 1819, leaving no will but an inventory and executor's account.⁷⁴ From the latter we learn that at this date the farm was tenanted to Col. William Andrews, Jr., contained 130 acres with buildings thereon and was worth \$12,500.00. When the Cogswells moved into town they apparently took with them all their household furnishings, leaving only some equipment and implements with which to carry on the farm work. Considerable stock was maintained here, however, one half of which belonged to the tenant.

Mrs. Elizabeth Wise Cogswell, wife of Jonathan, 3rd died on October 31, 1838, and in the following year her three daughters sold the farm for \$10,000.00 to Adam Boyd, a prominent ship builder of Essex.⁷⁵ Mr. Boyd's descendants owned and lived on the place until 1925 when it passed to Mr. Arthur Dana Story,⁷⁶ and was sold by his estate to Mr. and Mrs. Bertram K. Little in 1937.⁷⁷ In the 303 years since the original grant was made to John Cogswell, the land has changed family ownership only three times.

Before closing, I wish to say just a few words about

the house itself, particularly as regards its construction. As outlined in the foregoing notes, we believe that the 17th century house of William Cogswell stood on this site, and should that house be still standing we should look for certain details in its construction. We should expect to find evidences of a steep pitched roof, ceiling beams that would be chamfered or beaded on the edges, and a huge chimney laid up in common clay. Panelling would not be present unless introduced at a later date to cover the plain board sheathing, and the stairway would be steep and short, probably enclosed with vertical boards.

A careful examination of this house seems to indicate that its construction is definitely not of 17th century type, although it does possess a tremendous end chimney of very early appearance. The bricks are crude, and all the brickwork in the house is laid in clay rather than the usual lime mortar. In this end chimney are four fireplaces, two of them straight sided, and all of unusually large size, which strongly suggest a 17th century date. The kitchen and parlor fireplaces are both built with smoke panels almost identical with those in the 1640 Hart house in Ipswich. Each fireplace, including those upstairs, has lug-poles, and all the flues are lined with clay mixed with chopped marsh grass after the fashion of the old English plasterers. Behind the panelling the lintel beams are chamfered and have lamb's tongue stops as if they were originally meant to show in the rooms. From the size and construction of this chimney we believe that it was certainly built in the 17th century and may well have been part of William's house. If so, John Cogswell, the first settler, may have spent many a cold winter evening before these fireplaces while he was living with his son in 1659 and 1660.

The house as it stands today is solidly constructed of heavy oak timbering, but the only beams with 17th century chamfering are in the cellar, indicating that they were taken from an earlier house. The panelling seems to be the original finish and is of 18th century type, the roof has the 18th century pitch, although the construc-



PARLOR IN THE EASTERLY END OF THE HOUSE

A corner fireplace and original plaster ceiling, which covers the summer beam, show the refinements of a slightly later period than that of the westerly end



"THE HALL," SO-CALLED IN THE INVENTORY OF 1752

Early six foot fireplace with smoke panel surrounded by eighteenth century panelling. Woodwork shaded in green and black to match original colors found under many layers of later paint

tion is of early type with lapped purlins and vertical boarding. The wide coving is Victorian and was added in the 19th century by Adam Boyd.

We know that the easterly end of the house was built shortly after the westerly end, as two sets of sills and girts and a cut in the outer boarding proves. The inventory of 1752, however, mentions rooms which could only be accounted for by the addition of the easterly end. The clue to its date is probably contained in the executor's account for 1752, "Shingling *whole* house, window frames and cross pieces." It is not likely that such extensive repairs would have been undertaken two months after the owner's death, and the above entry no doubt refers to the work on the roof and windows of the new addition which was perhaps barely completed before his demise.

The upper and lower front rooms of the newer end were left completely unfinished as to interior, and were probably used only for storage, pending a time when the needs of the family should require them to be plastered. The Cogswells moved away from the farm before this time came, and so the rooms remained, with rough boarding for walls and ceilings of heavy exposed timbers, until Mr. Boyd bought the place in 1839 and finished them in the prevailing style of early Victorian woodwork. It was on account of these unfinished rooms that the house was refused for the Town poor farm in 1835.⁷⁸

When Mr. Boyd bought the place it had a long sloping roof across one third of the back. He raised this roof and made the present two-story ell. The lean-to appears in the 1752 inventory as "the old kitchen," which is one of the puzzles we have yet to solve. It may have been a room moved from an older house and attached on for extra space and convenience as a sort of summer kitchen. There is reason to believe that it might be the "west chamber" mentioned in the inventory of the old William Cogswell house. All the beams and boarding in the easterly half of the house appear to have been used before, as whitewash and nail holes do not seem to be consistent with present usage.

One of the most unusual features of the house is the unusual painting of the woodwork in the westerly end and upper and lower halls, which we discovered next to the wood under many years of later paint. Such decorative effects in dark strong colors were used as early as 1740, and have no connection with the mechanical grain-ing of the Victorian era. It is believed that itinerant artists of whom no record now remains, travelled the countryside, perhaps applying their skill in return for board and lodging. We carefully scraped many parts of the panels and moldings, and some of these, including the two large panels over the front west bedroom fireplace, have been left to show the original colors and design. The rest has been repainted by Esther Stevens Brazer of New York to match the old. Very similar painting can be seen in the old Meeting Houses in Fremont, Sandown and Danville, N. H., and Alna, Maine. These all date from the 1760's to 1780's.

Mention should also be made of the space between the back of the western chimney and the brick-filled end of the house. This space reaches from the cellar to the attic and is wide enough for a man to stand in. It is reached by a small door leading from a closet on the second floor and was probably left to afford room for the projecting domes of the two brick ovens in the rear of the kitchen fireplace. The oven on the right we believe to be the oldest, as the inside is laid in clay and it was evidently constructed before the end of the house was built, as it stands almost clear of the end studs. The left oven, which runs into the brickwork between the kitchen and parlor fireplaces, was built at a somewhat later date as the inside is laid in mortar and the end is jammed up against the outer end of the house. A section of the brick filling at end of house was evidently taken out to enable the workmen to get in to build it and this was not entirely replaced as there is a space between the studs with no brick filling. The domes of both the ovens, however, are covered with the clay and marsh grass mixture which lines the chimney flues.

We have tried to follow as carefully as possible the evidence of what we believe to have been the original appearance of the house. In every room we found layers of whitewash on the plaster walls and we do not think that wallpaper could have been used here until a comparatively late date. A few doors, some hardware, and the corner cupboard in the west parlor had been removed some years ago. We have replaced the doors and hardware as consistently as possible, and have re-built the cupboard from marks of the original on walls and floor. There is also evidence of a large built-in dresser having been in the kitchen opposite the fireplace which no doubt held the large array of pewter which was listed in the inventory as being in this room. The only ceiling which had to be renewed was in the lower east front room. When it was taken down the heavy beams, with big spikes for hanging, appeared above the plaster line, just as it had been left for nearly 100 years awaiting its final finish which never came until the advent of the Boyds in 1839. We simplified the Victorian door and window trim to be more in keeping with the rough ceiling, and gave it a stain of Indian red. The chamber above it retains the 1840 finish, but the fireplace had to be restored.

With the exception of a two-room addition to the north-westerly side of the ell we have made no structural changes whatever in the old house, have moved no partitions, changed no woodwork, except as noted in the one room, replastered no ceilings or walls, cut no doors. As far as we can tell, the house remains essentially as when built, and we hope and believe that it still has a long and useful life ahead of it.

JOHN COGSWELL'S GRANT.

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DR. MANNING'S ADVICE TO HIS SON AT
EXETER AND HARVARD, 1806.

The writer of the following letters was Dr. John Manning of Gloucester, who belonged to a well-known family of physicians. His father and grandfather had practiced medicine in Ipswich, both living to an advanced age. Three of his sons were graduated from Harvard College; one was an eminent philologist, and two were physicians. John Manning, to whom this letter was written, after a course at Phillips Exeter Academy and graduation from the Harvard Medical School, began practice in Waldoborough, Maine, where he remained until 1842. He then removed to Rockport, where he practiced until his death in 1852.

Letter addressed to "Mr. John Manning, at the Academy, Exeter":

Glou^r Feby 22d 1806

Dear Boy

Your favour of the 12th Inst I duly received the 15th. and am gratified to find you in a good way of employing your time. You will always have in mind that (as D^r Franklin says) "time is money" and that as in the expenditure of money, you ought always to regard the getting the value of the same in a bargain, or assignment; to avoid the certain ridicule of those wise acres, who are always looking out for the first progressions of youth, and make their calculations on their future probability of being able to shew a good front to their creditor— So in regard to time the like diligence is requisite to avoid the Imputation of Idleness— and not only that, but the certain characteristic of the want of good sense— not that I would wish you to be a Miser of your time and hoard it up to your own use,—but if you spend it, do it to some purpose, and as you ought in charity, bestow it with an open and liberal hand, freely give and freely receive— especially in the Company of your Companions and play-fellows—

When with your Superiours in years or acquirements, let the eye and the ear be more fully employed than the tongue. But when with the fair!— I cannot add to the fund that

you have in possession whenever you hold in your library the celebrated Chesterfeild. And barely to mention the "Suavitor in Modo" is enough.

Your progress is well in your studies and I now begin to have hopes of you. I am preengaged in favour of Mr. Crosby. What he tells you I think you will do, and if you can get *almost* through Sallust, push and you will gain him—his is not more than plain narration. I in some measure realize the pleasure you experience in reading the thundering eloquence of the Ciceronian Orators.

Joseph on account of an indisposition in his breast delayed going to Cambridge untill last Monday.

The Two Brothers has arrived safe at Lisbon, and the Latona at Liverpool.

Capt. Thurston returns to Norfolk Va, with freight. You observe "having nothing further to write &c." With all nature before you I should think you would never want a subject. How would that conclusion look in a letter to a charming young lady.

Had you nothing to observe of the Beaus & Belles of Exeter the subjects of Cicero, of Sallust, of Virgil, of Rome, Cataline &c. would bear to be discoursed on.

Give my regards to the good General and Lady, and other enquirers.

You say "There is four other boarders here *besides* myself," please to correct your sentence. Your attention to small errors will cause you to avoid great ones.

Your affectionate father so long as you do well.

J. Manning

Letter addressed "To Mr. John Manning at the University, Cambridge":

Gloucester, Oct^r 12th 1806.

My dear Son,

This day being the 17th anniversary of your Birth, cannot be an uninteresting moment to me, and will doubtless be noticed by you.

You now view yourself seated at the fountainhead of learning—and at liberty to imbibe as large draughts as your mind can contain— You cannot be insensible of your good fortune, but must duly estimate the Value of the every hour—remember all Eyes are upon you—and if you do not act your part well in the rehearsal, how must you appear when you ascend the stage of action.

You being born Independent of hereditary disease, will use due caution to preserve, not only the purity of your earthly—or which I like better—fleshy body—but, so guard your mind and fence it about with observation, reflection & knowledge, as to maintain a due exercise of all your faculties, as time, opportunity, & convenience may present — Some of your Class may think that, if they roll on with the seasons, and imbibe the vinous juice, that will furnish materials for managing the leading string of dame fortune, as they shall be boon Companions, and can knock anybody down, who may be so audacious as to doubt their authority. But, you must rely on a profundity of thought, and a well digested argument to gain ground, and overcome error and ignorance.

The first Impression is of much importance, as thereby you may acquire such a Character for study, as to gain the good graces of your Class, and get a good name abroad, even before you are up.

Vice there presents itself in many shapes, the allurments of dress are many. The gaieties of the bottle are not without inticements—The soft lullings of ease and idleness are too apt to make youth imagine that if they get their lesson so as not to be censured, it is enough—but that will not satisfy me — You must in your first start establish a resolution to try to obtain solid information, to lay up a store of knowledge that will furnish a fund, from which you can draw ample revenue to support you through life — calculate the expense both of time & money, and do not let your faculties contract and rust—but let them expand and be up and doing.

Your affectionate Father

J. Manning

ROBERT CALEF AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY ANNE CALEF BOARDMAN.

(Continued from Volume, LXXV, page 408.)

210 JOSEPH W. (Benjamin, Joseph, William, John, Robert) of Concord, N. H.; b. 2 Aug. 1825, Salisbury, N. H.; d. —; m. Rebecca Elizabeth Roberts; b. —; d. before 1868, Concord.

Children:

- i FRANK R.
- ii JOSEPHINE.
- iii LORENA K.

211 BENJAMIN (Benjamin, Joseph, William, John, Robert) of Salisbury and Concord, N. H.; b. 18 Sept. 1827, Salisbury; d. —; m. 29 Nov. 1852, Mary Greene; b. 10 July 1831, Franklin, N. H.; dau. of Jeremiah and Nancy (Woodbury) Green.

Child born in Salisbury:

- i BENJAMIN ALFRED, b. 16 March 1858.

212 LUCY J. (Benjamin, Joseph, William, John, Robert) of Concord (Fisherville), N. H.; b. 18 Jan. 1836, Franklin, N. H.; d. —; m. 5 Nov. 1856, Charles G. Morse.

Children:

- i CHARLES ALFRED.
- ii ALMA JANE.
- iii LUCY ANNIE.

213 THOMAS (Benjamin, James, James, John, Robert) of Bridgeport, Conn.; b. 12 April 1822, Bridgeport; d. —; m. 19 Sept. 1848, Caroline Olmstead; b. 14 March 1820, Stratford, Conn.; d. 1898; dau. of Frederick and Julia (Pixley) Olmstead.

Children:

- 324 i MARY JULIA, b. 27 Nov. 1850.
- ii HARRIET BREWSTER, b. 7 April 1853.
- iii CAROLINE JUDSON, b. 24 June 1860.

214 GEORGE WASHINGTON (Zachariah, James, James, John, Robert) of Bridgeport, Conn., and Chelsea, Mass.; b. 4 March 1829, Bridgeport; d. 5 Dec. 1898, Chelsea; m. 8 Jan. 1863, Boston, Mass., Eliza Jane Phillips; b. 22 April 1832, Millbury, Mass.; dau. of William and Eliza Jane (Hill) Phillips.

Child:

- i GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. 7 Jan. 1864.

George Washington Calef was 2nd Lt., Co. H, 11th Regiment. He was thirteen months a prisoner, being transferred from place to place—Libby, Saulsbury, Columbia jail, Charleston jail, Belle Isle, Castle Pinckney.

215 HARRIET NEWELL (Zachariah, James, James, John, Robert) of West Hartford, Ct.; b. 16 June 1833, Bridgeport, Ct.; d. —; m. 27 Feb. 1862, Springfield, Mass., John Morton Belden; b. 12 Feb. 1832, New Britain, Ct.; son of Thomas Morton and Jane (Ward) Belden.

Children:

- i MARY GRACE, b. 10 March 1866; d. 10 Jan. 1869.
 - ii ERNEST FRED MORRIL
 - iii EDGAR MORTON
- } b. 15 Jan. 1870.

216 TRYPHENA BURNHAM (John, Daniel, James, John, Robert); b. 27 Nov. 1808, Rochester, N. H.; d. 17 Feb. 1896, Farmington, N. H.; m. Benjamin Downing; b. —; d. 26 Aug. 1872; of Farmington.

Child:

- i GEORGE T., b. —; of Rochester.

217 MARY JANE (John, Daniel, James, John, Robert) of Farmington, N. H.; b. 25 Oct. 1813, Rochester, N. H.; d. 26 March 1896, Farmington; m. 25 Sept. 1831, Paul Horn (Home), of Dover, N. H.

Child:

- i WESLEY R.

218 JOHN SCRIBNER (John, Daniel, James, John, Robert) of Rochester, Exeter and Newport, N. H.; b. 17 May 1824, Rochester; d. —; m. 4 June 1848, Dover, N. H., Rebecca Whitehouse Page; b. 27 Nov. 1825, Roch-

ester; dau. of Moses and Eleanor (Ricker) Page, Rochester.

Children :

- i ELLEN ELIZABETH, b. 2 April 1849.
- ii DANIEL PAGE, b. 23 April 1851; m. 23 March 1874, Rochester, Mrs. Mary Frances (Brock) Evans.
- iii EMMA JANE, b. 18 Aug. 1853; m. 15 July 1875, Lyman Gay, Keene, N. H.
- iv ROSABELLE MARIA, b. 18 Aug. 1855; m. 18 Mary 1878, Conly Roberts Jones.
- v CLARA ETTA, b. 16 Aug. 1858.
- vi MARY LUTETIA, b. 8 Sept. 1862.

219 JAMES (John, Daniel, James, John, Robert) of Farmington, N. H.; b. 2 Dec. 1826, Rochester, N. H.; d. —; m. 17 Oct. 1853, Dover, N. H., Emily V. Ricker; b. 28 Sept. 1829, Sandwich, N. H.; d. 14 Sept. 1901, Farmington.

Children :

- 325 i FRANK N., b. 30 May 1856.
- 326 ii EVERETT LINWOOD, b. 23 Aug. 1858.

220 BETSY PORTER (John, John, King, John, Robert) of Portland, Me.; b. 3 Dec. 1799 at Beverly, Mass.; d. —; m. Jeremiah Martin; b. —; d. 1841, Portland; son of Ezekiel Martin of New Gloucester, Me.

Children :

- i EMILY, b. 23 Oct. 1823; m. Benjamin Perkins.
- ii JOHN DAVIS, b. Oct. 1825; d. unm.
- iii JEREMIAH, b. 29 Dec. 1827; m.; no chn.
- iv SETH, b. 1 April 1830, m. Eliza Green, Portland.
- v MARY ELIZABETH, m. Augustin D. Smith, Buxton, Me.
- vi HARRIET F., b. April 1835; d. young.
- vii GEORGE W., b. 1837; m. Emily J. Morey, Altona, Ill.
- viii HENRY, b. 1839; m. Mary Peterson, Chelsea, Mass.

221 HARRIET (John, John, King, John, Robert) of Rockport, Mass.; b. 15 Feb. 1813, Portland, Me.; d. —; m. 1 Dec. 1836, Nehemiah Knowlton (2nd wife).

Children :

- i JOHN CALEF, b. 1838; m. Margaret —.
- ii HARRIET L., b. 17 Aug. 1842; d. 1851.
- iii HARRIET L., b. 1850.
- iv Child.

They kept the light at Rockport.

222 FRANCES ANN (John, John, King, John, Robert) of Rockport, Mass.; b. 5 Aug. 1815, Portland, Me.; d. —; m. William Knight.

Children:

- i JOHN S., b. 9 June 1843; m. Jane Sanborn, of Rockport.
- ii WILLIAM FRANCIS, b. —; d. young.
- iii A daughter, b. —; d. young.

223 CHARLES EDWIN (Jonathan, Jonathan, Joseph, John, Robert) of Portland, Oregon; b. 21 April 1837 at Milo, Me.; d. —; m. 10 Oct. 1866 at Portland, Ore., Harriet A. Campbell.

Children:

- i ALLEN, b. 3 Aug. 1867.
- ii ALMIRA, b. 23 Oct. 1872.

224 MARY BUCK (Jonathan, Jonathan, Joseph, John, Robert); b. 8 Sept. 1840, Fairfield, Maine; d. —; m. San Francisco, Cal., Dr. Robert Crouch.

Children:

- i EDGAR.
- ii MABEL, b. 1872.
- iii Child, b. 1873.

225 FRANCES ADELAIDE (Jonathan, Jonathan, Joseph, John, Robert) of San Francisco, Cal.; b. 20 April 1842, Acton, Me.; d. 19 July 1866, Napa, Cal.; m. San Francisco, Cal., William Smith.

Child:

- i SUSAN.

226 LAURA JANE (John, Jonathan, Joseph, John, Robert) of Haverhill, Mass.; b. 6 April 1852, North Reading, Mass.; d. —; m. 24 Aug. 1871, Lawrence, Mass., Oliver H. Tarlton; b. 1850, Newcastle, N. H.; son of John and Mary Tarlton.

Child:

- i JOHN OLIVER, b. 7 May 1872.

227 CHARLES WEEKS (James, Joseph, Joseph, John, Robert) of Quincy, Mass., and Auburn, N. H.; b. 5 April 1829, Auburn; d. —; m. 21 April 1864, Venelia Richards; b. 26 Feb. 1838, Quincy, Mass.; dau. of Lisander and Content (Clapp) Richards, Neponset, Mass.

Children:

- i ANNA LOUISE, b. 17 July 1865.
- ii CLARA MINNIE, b. 13 Feb. 1867.

The homestead on the Candia Road, Auburn, came to this great-grandson of its builder, Joseph Calef.

228 RUFUS (John, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Manchester, N. H.; b. 27 Feb. 1826, Goff's Falls, N. H.; d. 16 April 1876, Manchester; m. (1) 12 July 1851, Nancy Ann Martin of Westville, N. Y.; b. abt. 1826; d. 24 March 1865, Washington, D. C.; (2) 24 Dec. 1870, Maria (Adams) Simpson, of Bedford, N. H.

Children by wife Nancy Ann:

- i RUFUS, b. 29 Sept. 1853.
- ii JOHN FRANKLIN, b. 1 Nov. 1857.
- iii MARTHA CAROLINE, b. 5 May 1859; d. 2 Sept. 1862, buried at Moores Ferry, N. H.

Rufus was a clerk in the office of the paymaster-general, at Washington, during the Civil War.

229 MARY ANN (John, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Manchester, N. H.; b. 1 Oct. 1832, Goff's Falls, N. H.; d. —; m. 12 Dec. 1857, James Madison Miller; b. 5 Nov. 1828; of Albany, Me.

Children:

- i FREDERICK CALEF, b. 9 June 1860, Manchester.
- ii WILLARD JAMES, b. 4 Sept. 1868, South Paris, Me.

230 CAROLINE (John, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Manchester, N. H.; b. 17 May 1838, Goff's Falls, N. H.; d. —; m. 10 Aug. 1862, Caius Cassius Webster; b. 10 Oct. 1839.

Child:

- i FREDERICK ELMER, b. 4 Nov. 1868, Lawrence, Mass.

231 JOHN (Stephen, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Hurdland, Mo.; b. 22 May 1823, Grafton, Vt.; d. 27

July 1894, Hurdland; m. 22 Aug. 1849, Alexandria, Mo., Ann Spencer; b. 3 Dec. 1823; of Culpepper Co., Va.; d. 13 Oct. 1887, Hurdland.

Children:

- i SARAH FLORENCE, b. 17 June 1850; d. 4 March 1853.
- 327 ii JOHN ALBERT, b. 5 March 1852.
- iii MINERVA ANN, b. 4 April 1854; d. 14 Nov. 1875.
- iv STEPHEN MOORE, b. 28 Aug. 1859; b. 26 April 1885, Merino, Col.
- v ELMER ELLSWORTH, b. 20 May 1861; d. 27 Aug. 1877.
- vi GEORGE BYRON, b. 8 July 1864; d. abt. 1929, Mystic, Ia.

232 MARY EDNA (Jonathan, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Keene, N. H.; b. 2 Sept. 1834, Keene; d. —; m. 17 Jan. 1856, Harvey Ballou; b. 29 March 1824, Surrey, N. H.; d. —; son of Ichabod and Eunice Ballou.

Children:

- i M. LIZZIE, b. 2 Oct. 1858; d. 1 Dec. 1862.
- ii JENNIE, b. 21 Oct. 1860; d. 29 Nov. 1862.
- iii GEORGE H., b. 21 May 1863.
- iv CLARA M., b. 9 Aug. 1868.

233 DAVID ROBERT (Jonathan, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Keene, N. H.; b. 22 Nov. 1836, Keene; d. 1881, Keene; m. 10 Jan. 1866, Mary Maria Barker; b. 7 Sept. 1836, Westmorland, N. H.; d. 30 April 1887, Boston, Mass.; dau. of Stephen and Maria Barker, Westmorland.

Children:

- i ROBERT STEPHEN, b. 21 May 1869.
- ii NELLIE BARKER, b. 1 July 1875.

This may be the Lt. Robert Calef mentioned as in the Civil War in the N. E. H. & G. Register (p. 52).

234 ELIZA WEBSTER (Jonathan, David, Joseph, John, Robert) of Milford, N. H.; b. 23 Aug. 1839, Keene, N. H.; d. —; m. 6 Jan. 1859, John P. Wood; b. 25 June 1833; d. —; son of Abijah and Mary A. Wood.

Child:

- i ESTELLE H., b. 13 Aug. 1860.

235 RICHARD CALLEY (James, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Bangor and Palmyra, Me.; b. 15 Sept. 1796, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. 26 Sept. 1879, Laconia, N. H.; m. Sarah Grey; b. Newport, Me.; d. abt. 1845.

Children:

- i DOROTHY, b. abt. 1836, Newport.
- ii JANE.
- iii ELIZA ANN.
- iv JOHN.
- v GRANVILLE, b. 1845.

236 EDWARD STEPHEN (James, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Union, N. Y.; b. 1798, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. —; m., Union, N. Y., "a lady of Pennsylvania Dutch descent."

Children:

- i JOHN.
- ii JAMES.
- iii JOSEPH.
- iv ELIZABETH.
- v GEORGE.
- vi Child.
- vii Child.

237 HEZEKIAH (James, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Sanbornton, Effingham and Laconia, N. H., and Lowell, Mass.; b. 3 Sept. 1801, Sanbornton; d. 10 Aug. 1867, Sanbornton; m. Hannah Judkins, of Effingham.

Child:

- i GEORGE, d. age 13, Effingham.

238 DOROTHY (James, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Sanbornton, N. H.; b. 15 Sept. 1812; d. —; m. 18 Aug. 1838, Calvin Osgood; b. 15 Aug. 1816, Sanbornton; son of James and Polly (Burley) Osgood.

Children:

- i MARY BURLEY, b. 27 Feb. 1840; m. Geo. Dearborn, Hill, N. H.
- ii RICHARD PRESCOTT, b. 11 Nov. 1841; m. Helen Mann, Duluth, Minn.

- iii ELIZABETH, b. 13 Sept. 1843; m. Charles Colby, Franklin, N. H.
- iv JAMES, b. 11 Sept. 1846; m. Mrs. Mary Hale, Elkart, Ind.
- v HENRIETTA NASON, b. 12 March 1849; m. John P. Heath, Franklin Falls, N. H.
- vi ELLA JANE, b. 11 April 1852; m. Edgar A. Jones, Franklin Falls.

239 JOSIAH SANBORN (Samuel, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Carrol, Vt., Rochester and Laconia, N. H.; b. Sept. 1801, Richford, Vt.; d. 14 Feb. 1863, Rochester (Dover, N. H. ?); m. (1) Eliza Ann Stickney; (2) Mrs. Mary Bean, Laconia, N. H.

Children by wife Eliza Ann:

- i ALPHONSO DE FRANCIS, b. 1 May 1825; m. Sarah Durgin.
- ii ELIZA ANN, b. —; m. Moses C. Lord.
- 328 iii SAMUEL LEONIDAS, b. 22 Feb. 1833.
- iv JENNETTE S., b. —; m. — Furber.

Children by wife Mary:

- v AUGUSTA, b. —; m. John Symonds.
- vi LOIS AMELIA, b. —; m. George Jones.
- 329 vii JOSIAH RICHARDSON, b. —.

Josiah was a hatter by trade. His stone is in the Calef gravevard, Sanbornton.

240 OLIVER (Samuel, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Sanbornton Bay, N. H.; b. 28 Aug. 1803, Richford, Vt.; d. 15 Aug. 1878; m. 6 July 1828, Nancy (Thompson) Nelson; b. 2 Dec. 1799, Loudon, N. H.; d. 7 Dec. 1877; dau. of James and Sarah (Gilman) Thompson, Loudon, N. H.

Children:

- i ANN HAZELTINE JUDSON, b. 18 Nov. 1829; d. 5 June 1867; m. Carleton Rollins.
- ii HARRIET NEWELL, b. 2 Oct. 1832; m. Edgar J. Hunkins.
- iii GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. 7 Dec. 1839; d. 26 Feb. 1848.

241 SAMUEL (Samuel, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Sanbornton and Meredith, N. H.; b. 12 Feb. 1807, Richford, Vt.; d. 23 Aug. 1872, Meredith; m. (1) 11

Jan. 1836, Sally Ford; b. 11 May 1805; d. 6 Sept. 1852; dau. of William and Elizabeth (Hilton) Ford, Deerfield, N. H., and Sanbornton; (2) 31 July 1853, Hannah B. Ladd; b. 1818; d. 19 Nov. 1858; dau. of John and Nancy (Badger) Ladd, Sanbornton; (3) 17 March 1859, Mary Fogg, Meredith.

Children by wife Sally:

- i JOHN FORD, in Texas 1861, Utah 1866.
- ii MARY ELIZABETH, m. Philip Hoyt, New London, N. H.; no chn.
- iii ABBY B., d. young.

Child by wife Hannah:

- iv HENRY P., b. Aug. 1854; d. 6 Apr. 1855.

242 ANNA (Samuel, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Barrington and Dover, N. H.; b. 12 Feb. 1807, Richford, Vt.; d. —; m. (1) 17 July 1831, Moses Hall, of Barrington; (2) David Foss, of Barrington.

Children born at Dover by husband Moses Hall:

- i MOSES, m. at Lawrence, Mass.
- ii ELIZA ANN, b. —; m. Wm. Thomas, Lawrence.
- iii CHARLES, d. young.

243 WILLIAM SANBORN (Samuel, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Meredith, N. H., Boston, Mass.; b. 1812, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. 14 Jan. 1862, Meredith; m. (1) Boston, Mary Elizabeth Fitzgerald; b. —; d. 8 April 1853, Boston; (2) 1856, Hannah Marinda Brown, Stratton, Vt.; d. 14 Feb. 1859.

Children born at Boston by wife Mary:

- i WILLIAM SANBORN, b. 18 July 1840; m. Sarah E. Hewitt.
- ii CHARLES HENRY, b. 15 Dec. 1843; m. 13 March 1869, Annie O. Bentley, Laconia, N. H.
- iii SAMUEL, b. 20 March 1845; d. 1 April 1865.
- iv GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. 28 Nov. 1847, Woodstock, Vt.; m.
- v EPHRAIM BUCK, b. 17 Sept. 1849.

William Sanborn is given as a "lamplighter" in Boston. He is buried, however, in the Sanbornton yard. The

third son, Samuel, served with the 32nd Maine Regulars and was killed at the Battle of Five Forks.

244 SARAH SANBORN (Samuel, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Dover, N. H., Lawrence, Mass.; b. 1812, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. —; m. 26 Dec. 1841, Charles M. Warren, Dover.

Children:

- i CHARLES H.
- ii Daughter, d. young.
- iii FRANK.
- iv EDWARD.

245 EBENEZER KNOWLTON (Oliver, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Manistee, Michigan; b. 14 Nov. 1813, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. —; m. 15 Jan. 1837, Lowell, Mass., Abigail G. Hale; b. 7 Jan. 1814, Bosca-
wen, N. H.

Children:

- 330 i MARY SUSAN, b. 15 June 1838.
- 331 ii GEORGIANNA H., b. 13 Feb. 1843.
- 332 iii EDWIN KNOWLTON, b. 14 Feb. 1844.
- 333 iv EMMA WARREN, b. 27 Jan. 1848.
- v FLORA JOSEPHINE, b. 26 Dec. 1852.
- vi ROYAL.

246 ASA FOSTER (Oliver, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of West Somerville, Mass.; b. 27 Nov. 1818, Campton, N. H.; d. 2 Dec. 1899, Concord, Mass.; m. 8 Dec. 1846, Lowell, Mass., Sarah Nichols; b. 23 Sept. 1823, Effingham, N. H.; d. 14 Dec. 1894, Lowell.

Child born at Lowell:

- 334 i WALLACE ASA, b. 29 July 1848.

247 SOLOMON COPP (Oliver, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Cambridge and Boston, Mass.; b. 8 Aug. 1820, Campton, N. H.; d. 22 Aug. 1887, Danvers, Mass.; m. 1 May 1842, Martha Gordon; b. 15 Dec. 1821; d. 6 Jan. 1887, Saugus, Mass.; dau. of Henry and Sarah (Palmer) Day Gordon.

Children:

- i HORATIO SOLOMON, b. 24 June 1843.
- ii SARAH ISABELLE, b. 17 May 1850.

The son enlisted from Cambridge in the 5th Regiment, Infantry, Mass. Vol. Militia.

248 ISAAC W. (Oliver, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Chelsea, Mass.; b. 31 Jan. 1823, Campton, N. H.; d. 16 Aug. 1871, Chelsea; m. (1), Lowell, Mass., Susan Jane Hatch; b. 22 Dec. 1824, Wells, Me.; d. 22 June 1868, Chelsea; dau. of Samuel H. and Hannah Hatch; (2) 10 Dec. 1868, Elizabeth M. Plummer, England; dau. of Robert R. and Elizabeth M. Plummer.

Children by wife Susan:

i ANNA MARY, b. 23 April 1850; d. 5 Jan. 1870.

ii ELLA FRANCES, b. 4 Oct. 1852; d. 20 April 1870.

Isaac was a carpenter and owned a planing mill. He served in the Civil War with the 50th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. There has been question whether his second wife was a Plummer by birth, or the widow of Joseph Plummer.

249 OLIVER SMITH (Oliver, Oliver, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Chelsea, Mass.; b. 4 March 1827, Lowell, Mass.; d. —; m. 9 March 1851, Lowell, Mass., Nancy Jane —; b. 24 Sept. 1833, Cornish, Me.; d. 1909, Chelsea.

Children:

i ISAAC W.

ii GEORGE FRANKLIN, b. 17 Oct. 1852.

Oliver had a planing mill near the bridge in Chelsea.

250 ARTHUR BENJAMIN (Jeremiah, Jeremiah, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Sanbornton, N. H., and Middletown, Conn.; b. 30 June 1825, Sanbornton; d. 17 Aug. 1900, Middletown; m. 21 May 1853, Canterbury, N. H., Hannah Foster Woodman; b. 31 Dec. 1827; d. —; dau. of Caleb M. and Lucy (Foster) Woodman of Canterbury.

Children:

335 i JEREMIAH FRANCIS, b. 14 Oct. 1855.

336 ii ARTHUR BENJAMIN, b. 20 Feb. 1859.

337 iii EDWARD BARKER, b. 25 Jan. 1862.

iv SAMUEL PRESCOTT, b. 8 Nov. 1864; m.; no chn.

Judge Calef was a prominent lawyer in Connecticut. He was one of the small group of men who met at Hartford and founded the Republican party in the state, and was a delegate to the national conventions of '60 and '64. He was state treasurer and held many positions of trust in Middletown, serving eleven years as judge of the City Court. He was a lecturer at Wesleyan University, a trustee, and the founder of the oratorical prize. After his retirement from the bench and the practice of the law, he devoted much time to the genealogy of the Calef family. His grandchildren well remember the old gentleman, working day after day in his study. He left the history nearly ready for the press, but in the removal of all the family from the Middletown homes, this has been lost. To none is this a greater regret than to the compiler of this present work.

251 EBENEZER BARKER (Jeremiah, Jeremiah, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Northfield, N. H.; b. 11 Aug. 1832; d. —; m. 11 April 1853, Urana Marcy Dalton; b. 13 Dec. 1833; d. —; dau. of Absalom and Harriet B. (Aldrich) Dalton, Northfield.

Children born at Northfield:

- i SARAH ANN, b. 28 Nov. 1854; m. 4 July 1871, George N. Corliss, Northfield.
- ii MARY ELDORA, b. 15 July 1857.
- iii CHARLES HENRY, b. 22 Dec. 1862; d. 15 Aug. 1880.

252 MARY JANE (James, Jeremiah, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Lowell, Mass.; b. 24 Nov. 1822, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. 25 May 1889, Tilton, N. H.; m. 4 May 1848, Daniel Davis; b. 7 April 1822, Sanbornton; son of Samuel and Prudence (Silver) Davis.

Children:

- i JAMES FRANK, b. 17 Jan. 1851; d. 13 March 1852.
- ii EMMA JANE, b. 13 April 1853.
- iii ANDREW BRACKETT, b. 13 May 1853.

253 MARTHA ANN (James, Jeremiah, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Dracut, Mass., Loudon, Sanbornton, and Tilton, N. H.; b. 7 April 1827, Sanbornton; d.

—; m. (1) 7 April 1853, George S. Coburn; d. before 1877; (2) Samuel Prescott Calef (150) of Sanbornton.

Children by husband George Coburn:

- i MARY ANNA, b. 15 Sept. 1854; d. 21 Sept. 1854.
- ii MARY FRANCES, b. 25 May 1859; d. 11 Dec. 1868.

254 ANDREW JAMES (James, Jeremiah, James, Jeremiah, Robert) of Lowell, Mass.; b. 23 April 1829, Sanbornton, N. H.; d. 16 Jan. 1884, Lowell; m. (1) 30 Sept. 1853, Charlotte W. Knight; d. 11 June 1869; (2) 6 Oct. 1870, Louise J. Estes; dau. of John and Mary Ann (Martin) Estes, China, Maine.

Child by wife Charlotte:

- i GEORGE M., b. 30 May 1869; d. 9 Aug. 1869.

Children by wife Louise:

- ii LOTTA LOUISE, b. 19 Aug. 1871.
- iii SADIE ELLA, b. 15 July 1872.
- iv EMMA MAY, b. 5 June 1874.

255 SARAH ELIZABETH (Samuel, Jedediah, John, Robert, Joseph, Robert) of Nininger, Minn.; b. 9 Sept. 1840, St. George, N. B.; d. —; m. 30 Nov. 1862, James Madison Bowler; b. 10 Jan. 1838, Lee, Me.; d. —; son of Edward and Clara (Smith) Bowler.

Children born at Nininger:

- i VICTORIA AUGUSTA, b. 16 Sept. 1863.
- ii SUSAN, b. 14 Sept. 1866; d. 25 Sept. 1866.
- iii EDWARD TRUE, b. 24 Jan. 1868; d. 29 Dec. 1868.
- iv AMY GEORGETTE, b. 15 Nov. 1869.
- v BURTON HASKELL, b. 7 Nov. 1871.

256 LOUISA (Califf) (Stephen, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Smithfield, Pa., b. 21 Aug. 1817, Goshen, Ct.; d. 12 Jan. 1897; m. 2 April 1837, Harry Durfee.

Children:

- i EMERA M., b. 31 May 1838; d. 18 July 1842.
- ii EDSON BINGLEY, b. 25 June 1844; m. Fanny Parker.
- iii POLLY M., b. 18 Oct. 1845; m. Leman D. Forest (Lymman de Forest?).

257 ISABEL (Califf) (Stephen, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Smithfield and Brown, Pa.; b. 15 June 1820, Smithfield; d. 16 Oct. 1879; m. 27 Dec. 1840, David P. Gillett; b. 15 Dec. 1814; d. 18 April 1887.

Child born at Smithfield:

- i EGBERT C., b. 30 July 1843; d. 25 March 1844.

Children born at Brown:

- ii ANNA MATILDA, b. 23 Aug. 1846; d. 27 Jan. 1856.
- iii ROSALIE, b. 6 Dec. 1848; d. 11 Oct. 1849.
- iv JUSTIN E., b. 26 Feb. 1851.

David Gillett was a soldier in the Civil War.

258 EMILY A. (Califf) (Stephen, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert); b. 22 Aug. 1826, Smithfield, Pa.; d. 28 Dec. 1863; m. 22 Oct. 1846, Sheldon S. Baker; b. 18 May 1824; d. 21 Nov. 1891.

Children:

- i EGBERT C., b. 4 July 1847; m. Brevis Rice.
- ii HOWARD F., b. 18 Aug. 1850.
- iii ADELL L., b. 22 Nov. 1852.
- iv MATILDA I., b. 20 Jan. 1857.
- v ALBERT W., b. 1859.
- vi FREDERICK, b. 1861; d. 13 April 1864.

These children settled in Kansas, save Matilda, who lived at Athens, Pa. Sheldon Baker served in the Civil War.

259 LOVILLA M. (Califf) (Stephen, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert); b. 21 March 1832, Smithfield, Pa.; d. 25 Oct. 1860; m. 5 Jan. 1853, Waterman T. Brown.

Children:

- i WELLS AFTON, b. 7 March 1854.
- ii LILLY B., b. 14 Aug. 1856.
- iii JESSIE MAY, b. 7 Oct. 1860; d. 1861.

260 JOANNA (Califf) (Ezra, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Liberty, Indiana; b. 17 Feb. 1815, Smithfield, Pa.; d. 19 Oct. 1864, Fulton, Ind.; m. 25

Oct. 1846, Union, Ind., John H. Nees; b. 11 Sept. 1819, Indiana.

Children:

- i EMERINE L., b. 2 July 1848; m. 7 Mch. 1874, Zachary T. McKree, Allen, Ind.
- ii EZRA C., b. 20 Oct. 1849; of Liberty, Ind.

261 LOVISA (Califf) (Ezra, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Alexandria, Neb.; b. 10 Oct. 1816, Smithfield, Pa.; d. —; m. 7 Oct. 1847, Union, Ind., William A. Bacon; b. 2 April 1819, Windsor, N. Y.

Children:

- i CLARISSA A., b. 14 July 1850; m. 1871, W. T. Hill.
- ii CYRUS H., b. 1 June 1854.
- iii CHLOE L., b. 3 Nov. 1856.
- iv WILLIAM H., b. 8 May 1859.
- v HARRIET N., b. 7 Sept. 1863.

262 LOIS (Califf) (Ezra, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Alexandria, Neb.; b. 16 June 1821, Smithfield, Pa.; d. —; m., Union, Ind., John L. Willard; b. 18 July 1819, Worcester, Mass.

Children:

- i REBECCA S., b. 19 Jan. 1850; m. 1868, Nigel R. McHenry.
- ii JASPER G., b. 11 Jan. 1853.
- iii ALMEDA, b. 9 May 1858.
- iv JOANNA, b. 20 Apr. 1860.

263 NEWELL (Califf) (Ezra, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Liberty, Ind.; b. 26 June 1823, Smithfield, Pa.; d. 15 Nov. 1862, Bowling Green, Ky.; m. 2 March 1851, Liberty, Clarissa O. Bacon; b. 28 April 1824, Windsor, N. Y.; d. 28 Nov. 1856, Liberty.

Children:

- 338 i MARY E., b. 7 Jan. 1852.
- ii REBECCA S., b. 30 Jan. 1854; d. 1 Nov. 1856.
- iii ALMA J., b. 1 May 1856; lived at Alexandria, Neb.

264 GILBERT M. (Califf) (Ezra, Stephen, Stephen,

Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Liberty, Ind.; b. 27 Aug. 1828, Smithfield, Pa.; d. —; m. (1) 3 Sept. 1857, Rochester, Ind., Hester A. Fitzgerald; b. 12 July 1840, New York; d. 4 Dec. 1862, Fulton Co., Ind.; (2) 19 March 1863, Rochester, Cynthia E. Fitzgerald; b. 18 July 1833, New York; d. 26 March 1869, Fulton Co., Ind.; (3) 13 Jan. 1870, Allen, Ind., Margaret Feltrow; b. 3 Jan. 1845, Coshocton, O.

Children born at Liberty by wife Hester:

- i ALBERT J., b. 23 June 1858.
- ii PHILA C., b. 8 March 1860.
- iii LAURA, b. 6 Sept. 1862; d. 26 Dec. 1862.

Children by wife Cynthia:

- iv ADALINE C., b. 17 July 1865.
- v EMMA J., b. 22 Dec. 1866.
- vi CHARLES N., b. 17 Jan. 1869.

Children by wife Margaret:

- vii SAMANTHY A., b. 14 March 1871.
- viii WILLIAM G., b. 7 Feb. 1873; d. 3 Sept. 1873.
- ix OMAR D. W., b. 24 March 1874.

265 LINUS AUSTIN (Califf) (Jonathan, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Smithfield, Pa.; b. 19 July 1822, Smithfield; d. 20 Jan. 1890; m. 23 Dec. 1840, Lydia Keziah Gillett.

Children born at Smithfield:

- i POLLY MALONA, b. 1 Feb. 1842; d. 10 May 1875.
- ii SOPHRONIA, b. 25 May 1845; d. 27 May 1845.
- iii CHARLES E., b. 19 July 1846; m. 31 March 1869, Nancy C. Mead.
- iv WEALTHY EULALIA, b. 27 Dec. 1847; d. 14 Jan. 1849.
- v MARY CHARLOTTE, b. 15 Oct. 1849; m. (1) Horace Weed; 1 dau.; (2) Jacob Frios; no chn.
- vi JOHN LAVANDA, b. 12 June 1851; d. 17 July 1873.
- vii SARAH EMMA, b. 12 June 1853; m. 3 Oct. 1872, Calvin Allen; 2 dau.
- 339 viii LINUS PLUMLEY, b. 25 Feb. 1855.
- 340 ix STILSON SURENUS, b. 23 Oct. 1856.
- x JUDSON SAMUEL, b. 28 Jan. 1858; m. 3 Dec. 1883, Josephine Furman.

BOOK REVIEWS.

NEW ENGLAND BLOCKADED IN 1814. The Journal of Henry Edward Napier, Lieutenant in H.M.S. *Nymphe*. Edited by Walter Muir Whitehill. 1939. xxi + 88 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum. Price, \$2.50.

This is the latest publication of the Peabody Museum, and it stands high among the important books brought out by this distinguished institution, both in typographical appearance and in the nature of the contents. Napier's manuscript Journal was purchased in England a few years ago, and since the material therein contained proved to be so distinctly of New England and particularly of Essex County, it seemed a favorable opportunity to disclose the British activities of the War of 1812, along our seacoast. Mr. Whitehill, assistant director of the Peabody Museum, besides writing a most informative introduction regarding Lieutenant Napier and the times in which he lived, has, by the use of attractive sub-headings, arranged the material in such a way as to make delightful reading. Notes are printed at the end of the book, and several appendices give quotations from various Salem and Boston newspapers, relating to facts mentioned in the Journal—an infinite amount of work, but adding greatly to the interest of the text. As British Journals are not numerous, this book will add much to the knowledge of the history of "Mr. Madison's War." Napier's comments on the duplicity of many Americans in furnishing the British with supplies, "at a price," are not especially complimentary. Contrariwise, the kind treatment which he evidently gave some poor Americans seems surprising to those who have been brought up on British atrocities. The illustrations include a portion of The New Chart of the Coast of North America, "publishel by Samuel Lambert of Salem in 1818"; Gloucester Harbor in 1817; Bowditch's Chart of the Harbors of Salem, Marblehead, Beverly and Manchester, 1806, from the original plate given by Dr. Bowditch to the East India Marine Society; Crowninshield's Wharf, Salem, 1806; and views of Boston, Bermuda, Halifax and other ports. This book is strongly recommended to all libraries.

EDUCATION IN THE EARLY NAVY. By Henry L. Burr. 1939. 228 pp., octavo, cloth. Philadelphia: Privately printed.

In this dissertation for a degree in Temple University, Dr. Burr has touched upon a subject that has hitherto received little attention. The period covered is from the Revolution to 1845, when the Naval Academy at Annapolis was established. The first part embraces the Continental Navy; the second deals with conditions existing from the formation of the Navy Department to the first days of the Academy. Government naval schools were located at Boston, New York, Norfolk and Philadelphia navy yards, while private nautical schools were to be found in seaports like Salem. Dr. Burr has done a very thorough piece of work, which will be read with great interest by many who have often wondered how the early navy men were prepared for the sea, how they were chosen, what they did on board ship, their studies while on cruises, their dress and their social activities.

THE WILLIAMSBURG ART OF COOKERY, or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion: Being a Collection of upwards of Five Hundred of the most Ancient & Approv'd Recipes in Virginia Cookery. By Mrs. Helen Bullock. Second Edition. 1939. 276 pp., 12 mo. cloth, illus. Williamsburg: Printed for Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, on the Press of August Dietz and his Son, near the Great Prison at Richmond, Virginia.

This unusual little volume is a cook book *par excellence*, done to a turn and served in the best traditions of Virginia. Besides recipes from soups and sauces to wines and punches, there is included a table of favorite Williamsburg garden herbs, with an account of Virginia Hospitality; treatises on the various branches of cookery; an account of health drinking; some considerations on the observations of Christmas in Virginia, with traditional recipes for this season; with the author's explanations of the method of collecting and adapting these choice recipes; and an index. The book is a reproduction of the style, both in type and paper, of the first American cook book which was printed at Williamsburg in 1742 by William Parks. To those interested in book-making it may be said that the body of the text is set in old-style Caslon, eleven point on twelve point body—the closest approach to the old Long Primer used by Parks. The ornaments are reproductions of Parks'. Though the text is set on the monotype, it has been hand-spaced. Eighteenth cen-

tury style has been used in capitalized and italicized words. The paper is especially made rag-content and is as near as it is possible to get to that manufactured by Parks, who opened the first paper mill near Williamsburg in 1744. It has the watermarks of Parks and the arms of the Virginia Colony. The illustrations are newly drawn in simulation of the technique of eighteenth century engravers and are produced with line cuts. This small volume is unique and delightful and a credit to the Williamsburg restoration project. The author writes, if the recipes fail, do not forget that "Heaven sends good Meat, but the Devil sends Cooks." Strongly recommended to all libraries.

J. PIERPONT MORGAN. *An Intimate Portrait.* By Herbert L. Satterlee. 1939. 595 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.75.

This biography is just what Mr. Morgan's son-in-law, Mr. Satterlee, intended it to be—an intimate portrait of the great financier's life, not an estimate of his business career. As for the latter, the author refers the reader to various financial publications, which, during the span of Mr. Morgan's life, printed in their columns the details of such transactions. Of an old New England family, the Morgans had pioneered to Springfield, Massachusetts, with William Pynchon, and later generations took up their abode in Hartford where Pierpont was born. His father, Junius Spencer Morgan, was in business in Boston as a merchant when he decided to try his fortune in England, where he ultimately established himself as a banker, and succeeded to the business of George Peabody in London. Mr. Peabody, a native of Danvers, Massachusetts, had made his way by industry and thrift until he was then occupying one of the first positions in the banking world. He was attracted to Mr. Morgan and later invited him to become his partner. Young Pierpont Morgan was thus early initiated into a business which developed his natural ability and made him one of the world's greatest financial figures. Mr. Satterlee gives many interesting examples of Mr. Morgan's foresight and ability, especially his assistance to the United States Government on many occasions, including the memorable panics of 1895 and 1907, and his affair with the United Steel Corporation and the many railroad wars. Yet the charm of the book is in the picture of the man "reserved and shy in public, bold and extraordinarily able in his business relations

and singularly lovable in his family life." It is not "the newspaper Mr. Morgan." Considerable space is given to his famous collections of works of art and his interest in having them preserved in the Metropolitan Museum as well as in his own "Morgan Library." His interest in and devotion to the Episcopal Church in the United States, as expressed by his many generous gifts, and his widespread philanthropies in the building of hospitals and other institutions are described in detail. The variety and amount of his gifts are breath-taking,—in Hartford, New York City and places abroad. The book is very readable and there are very many excellent illustrations. As an intimate story of a remarkable, progressive, and philanthropic American, who left an indelible impression on his times, it is recommended to all libraries.

AMERICAN GLASS PAPERWEIGHTS. Giving the Types, Origin, Design, Colors, Names and Dates, Processes, Methods, Cuttings, Catchwords, and other Information now made available for both dealers and collectors. By Francis Edgar Smith. Illustrated with thirty full-page plates of many fine paperweights. 1939. 173 pp., 12 mo., cloth, illus. Wollaston, Massachusetts: The Antique Press. Price, \$10.00.

This small book is full of information upon the subject of paperweights, the collecting of which is an avocation which appeals to many. As this is the first time that an authoritative work on this phase of glassmaking has been published, this volume will be eagerly sought by prospective purchasers. Mr. Smith's material has been obtained in large measure from old glassmakers whom he has interviewed. The business was carried on as an individual occupation by the workmen outside of their regular hours and their products are considered the finest from a collector's standpoint, as they are not so common as the commercialized examples. The object of this book is to straighten out the new collector at the start and to help the more experienced; also "to take the dealers out of the confused muddle in which they find themselves." There are thirty pages of plates, with detailed descriptions. A welcome addition to every collector's library.

SOME HISTORIC HOUSES. Their Builders and Their Places in History. Edited by Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick. Published under the Auspices of the National Society of

Colonial Dames of America. 1939. 160 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$4.00.

It is well known that the Colonial Dames have done much very worthwhile work in this country in the purchase and restoration of many historic houses, and this volume tells of the amazing results of their efforts over a period of many years. From the Dunbarton House, their National Headquarters in Washington, through most of the Eastern States, as well as Ohio, Wisconsin and Oregon, examples of this work of preservation may be found. This volume shows many illustrations of the houses, and relates interesting stories and historic facts connected with them. New England houses described are: the Stephen Hopkins House, Providence; Whitehall, Rhode Island; Quincy Homestead, Massachusetts; Moffatt-Ladd House, New Hampshire; Tate House, Maine. This is a book that will appeal to all interested in the preservation of the fine old houses of America and is recommended to all libraries.

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND. The Seventeenth Century. By Perry Miller. 1939. 528 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.75.

It will be impossible in a brief review to attempt to convey any idea of the tremendous work and thought that Professor Miller has put into this book. In a year's release from his duties at Harvard, under the Guggenheim Foundation, he has succeeded in producing a revealing study of New England thought during the first years of the colonization. This is the first of a series upon the intellectual history of New England, to be followed by the same treatment of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Professor Miller has, in this most scholarly work, defined and classified the principal concepts of the Puritan mind, and is concerned with accounting for the origins, interrelations and significances of the ideas. The first three generations in New England paid almost unbroken allegiance to a unified body of thought. He has taken Puritanism for granted and assumed that it was one of the major expressions of the Western intellect. He also considers the Puritans not only founders of the American nation, but spokesmen for what we call the Renaissance, and the principal value of this volume will prove to be that it

makes some contribution to our study of general intellectual history. Professor Miller has drawn upon three sources of material: textbooks which were employed in Puritan education; writers of both New and Old England of the period, especially William Perkins, William Ames and John Preston, whose works were often recorded in New England seventeenth century inventories of estates; and English authors of a later period. Every library should own this book.

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THE CABIN ON HOTEL HAWTHORNE

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No. 3

THE MARINE SOCIETY AT SALEM IN NEW ENGLAND.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY.

BY LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS
CLERK OF THE SOCIETY

The Marine Society, as an institution for the relief of distressed shipmasters or their widows and children, and also for the promotion of maritime knowledge, seems to have been of New England origin and did not spread farther than New York. The first one was the "Marine Society of Boston in New England," organized in 1742. This was followed successively by the "Marine Society, at Salem, in the County of Essex, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," in 1766; "The Marine Society of the City of New York, in the Province of New York, in America," in 1769; "The Marine Society of Newburyport, in the County of Essex, and State of Massachusetts, in New England," in 1772; the "Portland Marine Society," in 1796; "The Salem East India Marine Society," in 1799; and the "Portsmouth Marine Society," in 1808. There were no such societies in New Bedford, Philadelphia, Baltimore or Charleston, although most of these cities had other agencies for the relief of seamen. Of the above-mentioned societies, three have gone out of existence: the Portsmouth Society disappeared in 1905; the Newburyport Society divided up its funds among the surviving members and surrendered its charter in 1920; and the East India Marine Society was absorbed by the Peabody Museum of Salem in 1923, al-

though it will continue to pay benefits as long as any needy widows or children of former members survive.

There was a "Marine Society" formed in London in 1756 but this was a charitable institution, supported by voluntary contributions, for the purpose of fitting out poor boys and placing them as servants to officers in the Royal Navy and furnishing sea clothing for landsmen volunteers for the navy and merchant service. A full account of this Society appears in "The Bye-laws and Regulations of The Marine Society," etc., fifth edition, 188 pages, 12^{mo}, London, 1809.

At first the membership of most of these societies was confined to masters of vessels but soon it was found desirable to broaden their scope, and their ranks were opened variously to owners of vessels, merchants and persons of other professions, either as regular or honorary members. The Boston Marine Society comprises a membership of which not exceeding one-half may be of persons interested in the "benevolent designs of the institution." A notable exception was the East India Marine Society, which held to its original Article I, that: "Any person shall be eligible as a member of this Society who shall have actually navigated the Seas near the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, either as Master or Commander, or (being of the age of twenty-one years) as Factor or Super-cargo of any vessel belonging to Salem — or, if resident in Salem, of any vessel belonging to any port in the United States," and for a period of 125 years had only two honorary members: Lieut. M. F. Maury, U. S. N., elected in 1859, expelled in 1861, when he joined the Confederate Navy, and John Robinson, elected in 1869.

As the Marine Society at Salem has had an uninterrupted existence for almost 175 years, it will be possible to touch on only a few of the activities and interests of the Society during this long period.

The inception of the Salem Marine Society was the following agreement, signed by seventeen of the eighteen original members, as of March 25, 1766: "We the subscribers do promise to stand by and maintain these Laws,

which are here seal'd into this book as witness our hands: Thomas Eden, John Ropes, Samuel Webb, (John Hathorne did not sign), William Lilly, Amos Mansfield, Michael Driver, Israel Obear, Edmund Needham, Robert Hale Ives, Larkin Dodge, William Bartlett, Israel Lovit, Joseph Lambert, Benjamin West, Edmund Giles, William Slewman, Samuel Williams."

Capt. John Hathorne is carried on the roll as No. 4, although he did not sign the book. The Society records say that he died previous to April, 1766, although I can find no confirmation of this in the Vital Records of Salem. His standing as a member, however, is attested by the fact that his widow was the first person to receive relief when, on June 24, 1767, she was paid 18 shillings.

Before the end of the year By-laws were drawn up and printed in broadside form with the names of the first thirty-six members on the back. These Laws are so quaint and original that I quote them in full:

"LAWS OF THE
MARINE SOCIETY AT SALEM IN NEW ENGLAND.
March 25, 1766.

FIRST, The members of this society, shall consist only of such persons who now are, or have been commanders of vessels, unless upon extraordinary occasions.

SECONDLY, That the members of this society, or so many of them as shall be at home, and not hindered by sickness, shall meet the last Thursday of every month throughout the year, at such house in *Salem*, as the society shall agree on, at six o'clock in the afternoon, from the twenty-first day of *September*, till the twenty-first day of *March*, and at seven the rest of the year.

THIRDLY, That the master of the society shall be moderator of the meeting, in his absence the deputy master, the treasurer in the absence of both, and the eldest member present in the absence of all of them.

FOURTHLY, That each member shall pay into the box, for the use of the society, at the time of his entry, *Twenty Shillings* lawful money, and *Eight Pence* monthly, during such time as he shall belong to said society; which payments shall

not be expended at any time by the society, but remain a stock in the box, for the intents and purposes herein after mentioned.

FIFTHLY, That no member of this society shall be entitled to any relief out of the box, untill he has belonged to the society for the space of six months, and paid *Eight Pence* lawful monthly as aforesaid.

SIXTHLY, That every member who shall become a proper object to be relieved out of the box, shall apply himself to the society at their monthly meeting in writing, and set forth the nature of case; and the society shall have time, 'till the next meeting to consider of it, and then, if the society are agreed that he ought to be relieved out of the box, he shall be immediately paid so much as the society shall vote him; but in case any three of the members present will declare him a proper object of charity, the society shall that evening vote him immediate relief.

SEVENTHLY, That such member or members as shall go a voyage to sea, and return successful, shall pay *Eight Pence* lawful into the box, for the use of the society, for each and every month that he hath been absent; but in case any member of this society shall happen to be taken by the enemy, cast away, or by any other misfortune impoverished and reduced, then such member or members shall, on his or their arrival or return, making application to the society, be excused from paying the said *Eight Pence* monthly, for the time he has been absent, and shall be relieved according to the nature of his misfortune, and the ability of the Box.

EIGHTLY, That in case any member of this society, being a married man, shall be totally lost, or die on shore; then the society shall relieve the widow, child, or children of such member, if the society think them proper objects, according as the box can afford.

NINTHLY, If any member of the society meet with any misfortune, so as to be reduced on shore by old age or sickness, or any other misfortune, he shall be entitled to such annual relief as the society shall think fit, after having been a member seven years, and paying his dues to the society.

TENTHLY, That no monies belonging to the society shall be let at interest, but on bond, and collateral security of land, under a good title, and without any incumbrance on it, at least of double the value of the sum let, and lying in this province, in or as near the town of *Salem* as may be.

ELEVENTHLY, That no members of this society shall, at their monthly meetings, play, or promote the playing of cards, dice, or other gaming whatsoever, as it is probable the same may be of damage to themselves, or some other of the society.

TWELFTHLY, That the members of said society shall and will avoid all quarrels, needless contentions and debates, that may tend to create animosity, or disturb the good order, peace, friendship, and love, that each member should and ought to bear to the other; and in case any one or more of the society shall happen to quarrel, or begin a quarrel, there shall be three at least, or more of the society chosen to consider of the same, and to lay such fines on he or them, that they find guilty, as not to exceed *Twenty Shillings* lawful money, nor less than *Two*.

THIRTEENTHLY, If any member of this society shall commit any notorious crime, or be a common drunkard, a quarrelsome person, disturbing the peace and good order of the society, or be guilty of any other vice, he shall be discharg'd from the society, by vote of the major part of the members present at the annual meeting, and shall be excluded from any benefit of the box, unless he be reclaimed; and in such case he may be admitted into the society again.

FOURTEENTHLY, That if any member of this society be guilty of prophane swearing or cursing, or non-attendance of the monthly meeting, he shall for each of said offences, pay to the box *One Shilling* and *Four Pence* lawful.

FIFTEENTHLY, That each and every member of this society (in case of the decease of any member or members thereof at *Salem*,) shall, on timely notice given to each of them from the clerk, by a porter to be employed by said clerk for that purpose, attend the funeral of such deceased member or members; and that each and every member neglecting to attend, shall forfeit and pay, the succeeding night's meeting *One Shilling* and *Four Pence* lawful money, for the use of the box; and the charge of such porter shall be paid by the society.

SIXTEENTHLY, That every member of this society upon his arrival, from sea, shall communicate his observations inwards and outwards—of the variation of the needle, the soundings, courses and distances, and all other remarkable things about this coast in writing, to be examined and digested by the committee appointed by the society for that purpose, and lodged with the clerk of said society, in order to be recorded in the records of said society.

SEVENTEENTHLY, That the clerk of the society shall from time to time keep a fair and just account of all monies paid into the box and delivered out, and to whom, and when; and shall read over these laws distinctly to every new member or members, that shall be admitted into the society, at their admission or first appearance in it, and as often at other times as the society shall think proper."

Four years later the following is recorded: "Voted the 31 May 1770 that Jonathan Gardner Jr. Be Desired to Apply to the Great & General Court at this Present sitting to be incorporated." However, it was not until 14 April 1772 that the Act was passed to be engrossed. The petition was drafted by Timothy Pickering for which he received the very moderate fee of four shillings. The Act has been amended four times — in 1772, 1790, 1831 and 1887.

At first only shipmasters were eligible but in 1790 the By-laws were amended to include owners of vessels. These two sources provided an ample membership for some 150 years but by the latter part of the 19th century, Salem men had pretty much given up the sea and shipping, so that this source of supply was drying up. As the members considered that it was desirable to perpetuate the Society, both on account of its long history and more especially as it held in trust very considerable funds, they decided to make it an hereditary society. Accordingly, in 1918, when the membership had dwindled to thirteen in number, the By-laws were amended to include sons and grandsons of those who are, or have been, members and have reached the age of twenty-one years. Also that the casting of one blackball shall reject the person nominated. In 1930 great-grandsons were added to the eligible list. At present, out of a living membership of seventy-one, there are only three who have actually served as masters of vessels and only one who has commanded a vessel without power.

The early meetings were held at the houses of members, those of Jonathan and Benjamin Webb being frequently mentioned, as well as that of Capt. Samuel Rob-

inson, Innholder. In 1793 the Society rented General Stephen Abbot's long room for \$24 a year. In 1814 it removed to the Essex Coffee House, where it remained until the Bequest of Thomas Perkins, Esq., in 1833, enabled it to have a room in its own Franklin Building. It continued to occupy these quarters with the exception of brief intervals, when the place was uninhabitable as a consequence of fires, until the property was sold in 1923 for the erection of Hawthorne Hotel, where it now occupies a penthouse, called The Cabin.

Six of the original subscribers to the Laws were resident in Beverly, and, by 1772, there were presumably enough members to warrant the following petition:

"To the members of the Marine Society at their meeting in Salem January the 30th 1772 —

"The subscribers members of said Society & Living in Beverly Humbly shews —

"That their attending the monthly meeting of the Society aforesaid in Salem is attended oftentimes with Great Difficulty by reason of their being obliged to cross the Ferry it being sometimes Stormy Weather othertimes Dark, & the ice at times preventing the Boat from Passing. Wherefore they pray that they may be allowed to hold their monthly meetings in Beverly aforesaid. Under same Directions & Restrictions as the Society aforesaid shall direct & as in Duty Bound ever Prays.

Beverly Jan'y ye 25th 1772.

R. H. Ives
William Bartlett
Edmund Giles
Wm Morgan
Jos'a Batchelder Jr"

The Society thought favorably of the request and a Deputy Master was elected from the Beverly members who should act as clerk of that branch, collect the dues and fines, and remit them to the Treasurer. These members, however, were expected to attend the annual meeting in Salem. For some reason this arrangement did not prove satisfactory and had a short life, as the last mention of it is made in November, 1780, although the Essex Bridge was not built until 1788.

The entrance fee, which had started at twenty shillings lawful, was increased to forty-eight shillings in 1795 and then reduced to thirty shillings in 1801, where it remained until 1838, when it was made \$30. In 1851, \$1.50 was added for each and every year the applicant had been eligible. At the same time it was provided that no person should be admitted a member who had been eligible more than seven years or was more than forty years of age, except by an unanimous vote at an annual meeting. In 1855, the word "unanimous" was struck out, the age raised to fifty years and the fee to \$40, where it remained until 1923 when the present fee of \$25 was set. In 1856 the age was reduced to forty years where it remained until rescinded in 1887. The \$1.50 for each year of eligibility was increased to \$2 in 1887 and rescinded in 1918.

The monthly dues remained at eight pence until 1780, when it was voted that \$9 be paid monthly and fines for non-attendance at the monthly meetings be \$36 "till further orders of the Society." No doubt this was depreciated currency but the vote could not have proved popular as, on the following June, it was voted that the monthly advance and fines be omitted till the next meeting, when they were set at one shilling and three shillings, respectively, where they apparently remained until the By-laws were rewritten in 1790. Then the monthly advance was made nine pence and the fine one shilling four pence, and, if at home, "Any member of the Society who shall absent himself eighteen monthly meetings successively, and neglect or refuse to pay his monthly assessments, during that time, when called upon by the Clerk for that purpose (unless by reason of poverty or misfortune he be excused therefrom) shall cease to be a member of the Society." In 1800, the fine for absence was made 12½c which was increased to 37½ in 1887 and abolished in 1918. The monthly dues were abolished in 1838.

Violations of the By-laws, other than non-payment of monthly dues and non-attendance at meetings, are seldom recorded. The two following are among the most interesting:

"April 3, 1771, Voted: that Capt. George Southward should be excluded from the Benefitt of this Marine Society for a Breach of the thirteenth articall agreeable to our said Laws." The sequel to this appears on Sept. 29, 1774, when it was "voted: that Capt. George Southward should be Restored to this Society, and be entittled to all the Privileges, having from his good Conduct given full satisfaction to this Society."

On May 26, 1859, Lieut. Commander M. F. Maury, U. S. N., of the Naval Observatory, Washington, was elected an Honorary Member. He presented the Society with a set of his publications, which were of inestimable value to mariners, and the same year R. W. Ropes, Esq., presented a photograph of Commander Maury, which it voted to hang in the Society Room. Then, on May 30, 1861, it was voted: "That Lieut. Commdr. F. Maury an honorary member of this Society late Commander in the U. S. Navy having diserted His post—proved a *TRAITOR* to his Country—I now move you Sir that his name be *stricken* from Our Rolls." Then, voted: "that the picture of Comr. Maury be removed & that it be hung in Our Room *head Down*." That also coming under the original thirteenth article.

Major Joseph Hiller and Mr. John Jenks were appointed a committee in October, 1794, to form some sort of a certificate for the Society. There was considerable delay, for it was not until January, 1797, that Mr. Hiller was authorized to draw on the Treasurer for \$15 to pay for a form of a certificate. At the same time Capts. Benjamin West, Benjamin Carpenter and John Collins were added to the Committee. In April, the Society voted to accept the certificate, pay "Mr Joseph Nouwey" \$20 for his services and appointed Benjamin Pickman, Jr. and John Fisk to have a plate made and two hundred copies struck off. Just why the original committee, which had been enlarged from two to five, was not trusted with this final chore is not evident. In September, they decided to have copies on both parchment and paper and that "Each member to have one of each if he chooses it." The

following January they voted that certificates be given gratis to the widows of all deceased members and in February, "that the Clark get all the certificates for the widows Framed & Glass at the Society expense."

This certificate was drawn by Abijah Northey, Jr., and engraved by Samuel Hill of Boston and is still in use. I judge from the votes that the design cost \$20 and the engraving \$15.

In fulfilling the obligations of the sixteenth article of the By-laws, it is recorded as early as May, 1769, that Capt. David Masury handed in sailing directions from Mole St. Nicholas, Hispaniola (now Haiti), through the Windward Passage north by Inagua, Hogsty reef and Acklin Island. However, most of the activity was in planning for the safety of vessels entering Salem Harbor.

Capt. William Orne, Capt. Simon Forrester and Benj. West were chosen a committee in May, 1791, to erect a beacon on Baker's Island. They went to work promptly for, on the following month, it was voted "that the Marine Society pay for the erection of a beacon on the northern end of Baker's Island the sum of twenty pounds lawful money out of the interest of said society funds." A month later that the beacon be painted red and "that the name of the said beacon that is on Baker's Island should forever go by the name of ye Marine Society which is the first founders of the same." In August a committee was chosen "to buoy out sunken rocks in and about the harbour of Salem."

In January, 1792, they communicated with the Marine Societies at Boston and Newburyport respecting a lighthouse on Cape Cod, and in March Capt. Simon Forrester and Capt. Joseph Peabody were a committee to put down buoys. In May, twenty-seven shillings were voted for a "deficiency of the Ballons for the Beacon," and in June that a spar buoy should be put on the Endeavours. The following November, Maj. Joseph Hiller, Gen. John Fisk and Mr. William Gray were a committee to wait on Gen. Lincoln, the Collector of the Port of Boston, respecting the Government erecting a lighthouse on Baker's Island

and to have the Society reimbursed for the beacon and buoys. Apparently this effort was not successful, as in 1796 another committee was instructed to petition Congress for lighthouses on Cape Cod and Baker's, and that the committee "right or call on Marblehead & Beverly & Manchester & Cape Ann & Newburyport and to all the seaports to the Eastward." This effort was successful and in September, 1797, it was voted to sell the beacon for which they received \$50 the following year. Several later attempts were made to have Congress refund the cost of the beacon and buoys but without success. The last effort was in 1871, when General Butler promised to use his influence.

Among the numerous other marine matters which have received the attention of the Society are:

In 1807, and again in 1815, in collaboration with the East India Marine Society, furnished the Secretary of the Treasury with information as to the kind and numbers of buoys and beacons wanted at or near the mouth of Salem harbor.

In 1816, again with the East India Marine Society, addressed a memorial to Congress to have the coast surveyed from the east end of Long Island to the northeast extremity of the Province of Maine, particularly the shoals of Nantucket and Georges.

In 1820, chose a committee, agreeable to a letter from the Selectmen of Marblehead, to act upon the matter of placing a lighthouse "on or near the harbour of Marblehead and Salem."

In 1849, sent a remonstrance against the alteration of the Meridian of Longitude from Greenwich, and reported favorably upon Capt. R. B. Forbes' "New Rig for Ships and other Vessels."

In 1894, 1901 and 1916, passed resolutions in relation to the Sandy Bay breakwater at Rockport.

In 1927, passed a resolution against the abandonment of the training ship *Nantucket* of which two of our present members are graduates.

The Society has not been much in favor of participa-

tion in parades and celebrations but I give you their version of four of the events in which they did take an active part as a body.

"Dec. 26, 1799. Voted — a letter from the Military Society of Salem to the Marine Society requesting that they would concur & unite with them to pay a Tribute of respect to the death of Gen'l Washington by an oration.

"Voted that a Committee be appointed to joine with the Military Committee for carrying the bove Request into effect.

"Voted that Con'l Benjamin Pickman, Major Joseph Hiller & Benjamin Pickman Jr. be of this Committee.

"Voted That the bove Committee should invite any other Society to joine in paying that Tribute of respect to the Death of Gen'l Washington."

The above event was held on January 2, 1800, when they joined with the military, clergy and citizens in a procession, after which "the Rev. Dr. Bentley pronounced an elegant and classical eulogy."

Thirteen years later: "At a Special Meeting of the Salem M. Society Aug. 16, 1813, voted that the Marine Society shall attend the Procession of the late James Lawrence Esq. Commander of the United States Frigate *Chesapeake*."

This was some six weeks after the engagement between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon* in which Captain Lawrence and Lieut. Ludlow had been killed, and Capt. George Crowninshield, Jr. had sailed the brig *Henry*, manned by Salem sea captains, most of them members of this Society, to Halifax to recover the bodies. The funeral procession is said to have been the most impressive one ever seen in Salem.

"29th June 1826. Voted that the Society joins the procession to celebrate the anniversary of American independence the 4 day of July next."

This was, of course, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

"Special Meeting Oct. 13, 1848. A letter was received from the Government of the City of Boston inviting the Society to join in a procession the 25th Oct. to celebrate the introduction of Pure Water into that City.

"Voted—To accept the invitation.

"Voted—That the Officers of the Society be a Committee to arrange the business.

"Voted—That a badge (anchor) be provided at the expense of the Society."

The *Historical Sketches*, published with the Laws of 1873, says of this event: "At the Boston Water Celebration our two Marine Societies made a very fine appearance. They were escorted by the Light Infantry, with the Salem Brass Band, and each member wore a handsome anchor on his coat as a badge. The beautiful ship *Friendship*, with a smaller vessel, and the Palanquin (famous in the old time processions of the E. I. M. S.) with negro bearers dressed in white Oriental costume, accompanied them, and likewise a native Arab and Chinese, each in his national dress. They also had a handsome banner and other devices, and attracted a great deal of notice."

Thus briefly are recorded events each of which might be the subject of a paper. I suppose, however, their thought was, as they say on the radio: "The details may be found in your daily newspaper."

The Society was somewhat more partial to eating and mention is made of annual dinners at irregular intervals; also a snack was served after the monthly meetings, both in early times and even at the quarterly meetings of more recent times.

No attention was paid to the fiftieth anniversary, but on the one hundredth a dinner was served at the Essex House, formerly the mansion of William Gray. The Master, Capt. Nathaniel Brown, then Mayor of the City, gave an historical address, after which there were toasts by Hon. Stephen G. Wheatland, Capt. Ebenezer Davis, President of the Boston Marine Society, Benjamin H. Silsbee, President of East India Marine Society, Charles S. Osgood, Deputy Collector of the Port, and others.

At the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, a meeting was held at the Society's room in the Franklin Building. After the meeting addresses were made by the Master, Capt. Edward B. Trumbull, and the Clerk, Capt. J. Clifford Entwisle. Following this a banquet was held

at the Salem Club, the house built by John Forrester and later the residence of Col. George Peabody, son of Capt. Joseph Peabody, during which remarks were made by Capt. James Gurney, President of the Boston Marine Society, Capt. J. Frederick Johnson, a member of the East India Marine Society, and others.

In its one hundred and seventy-four years of existence the Society has had twenty-four Masters, thirty-five Deputy Masters, twelve Treasurers and nineteen Clerks. Jonathan Gardner, Jr., was Master and Treasurer for twenty-three years and his son, Jonathan, was Treasurer for thirty years, making fifty-three consecutive years during which the latter office was held by a Gardner. Capt. Nathan H. Millett held the office of Treasurer for thirty-one years and Capt. Edward B. Trumbull for thirty years. Capt. Nathaniel Knight was Clerk for twenty-six years, Capt. William B. Bates for twenty-five years and Capt. J. Clifford Entwisle for twenty years. Three Masters, four Deputy Masters, seven Treasurers and eight Clerks had ten or more years in office and twenty-three per cent of the officers averaged more than eighteen years each.

The present officers are: Stephen W. Phillips, Esq., Master; William C. Waters, Deputy Master; Arthur R. Millet, Treasurer; and the writer, Clerk.

In the membership of the Society were men of distinguished character and attainments. Many of them followed the sea for a few years, became master mariners, and then gave up the sea-faring life. Others followed it to the end like Capt. William Cook, father of the Rev. "Billy" Cook, who died on board his brig *Rotund* in 1820, aged 52. Some of those who left the sea became merchants and a few prospered. Still others found that life ashore was hard and they had to apply to the Society for assistance.

Members have served in all the wars from the French and Indian to the Great War, many on the sea, some on land and some on both. Others have held high state and government positions. More than one paper might be written on the deeds and adventures of some, but there are others whose record is lost to posterity and their

names are not even known to the present generation.

Among the sea captains in the Society who attained high rank in the militia were Major General John Fiske, Col. John Page, Col. Joseph Hiller and Col. Stephen Abbot. During the War of 1812 there were many mariners in the local militia companies as officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. One volunteer company, the Essex Guards, commanded by Capt. Israel Williams, and two exempt companies, called Sea Fencibles, commanded by Captains Joseph Ropes and Joseph Waters, had a goodly proportion of their personnel composed of ex-sailors. The two exempt companies comprised men who were beyond legal service age or had some bodily disability.

Well-known Salem family names, although in some cases they may not all be related, which are represented in our Roster by from five to sixteen individuals, are: Allen, Bowditch, Cook, Derby, Endicott, Crowninshield, Felt, Gardner, Goodhue, Gray, Hutchinson, Millett, Os-good, Parker, Peabody, Phillips, Pickman, Pingree, Pousland, Putnam, Ropes, Smith, Trumbull, Upton, Ward, West and Williams. Others which do not appear so frequently are: Batchelder, Benson, Cabot, Cleveland, Haraden, Hathorne, Higginson, Lee, Peirce, Perkins, Silsbee and Wheatland. Some of the names on our books are entirely unknown to me and no doubt the families have left town or died out.

There were some like the Devereux, Hodges, Nichols, Orne, Richardson and Rogers families who preferred the East India Marine Society, although quite a number belonged to both, and of course there were many members of each Society who could not qualify for the other. In 1902, when the East India Marine Society had elected its last member, it had 402 names on its roster, while the Salem Marine Society had 591. There were then 153 who were common to both or 38 per cent of the East India Marine Society and 20 per cent of the Salem Marine Society.

The following are thumb-nail sketches of a few individual members selected at random through the list, omit-

ting the more prominent members such as William Gray, Nathaniel Bowditch and numerous others who are known far and wide.

No. 19. Josiah Batchelder, Jr., 1737-1809, master mariner; captured by the French in 1761; merchant and owner of privateers during the Revolution; member of the Provincial Congress and six times elected to the General Court.

No. 43. Jonathan Gardner, Jr., 1728-1791, master mariner; commanded the privateer ship *Two Brothers* in the Revolution and was first master of the Society until his death in 1791, when Dr. Bentley preached his funeral sermon at the request of the Society. The records say: "March 31, 1791, That Capt. Jona. Mason & John Fisk, Esq., be a committee to wate upon the Reverent Mr. Bentley with the thanks of said Society for his Sarmon on the Death of Capt. Jona Gardner Esq. and request a copy for the press," and on May 26th, "That Capt. Jona Mason pay to Mr. Thos Cushun the sum of six pounds for printen the Sarmond on the Death of our Late Master Capt. Jona Gardner Esq. attestd Jona Mason, Sect Clark".

No. 45. John Fisk, 1744-1797, master mariner; commanded the privateer ship *Tyrannicide* in 1776, Captain in the Rhode Island Expedition; Major General in the Militia and second master of the Society. Dr. Bentley delivered his funeral sermon on behalf of the East Parish.

No. 85. Thomas Benson, 1747-1790, master mariner; commanded the privateer schooner *Lively* in 1777 and ships *Hendric Hudson* in 1781 and *Julius Caesar* in 1783; captured and confined on the prison ship *Jersey* at New York from which he was exchanged.

No. 187. Jesse Smith, 1756-1844, master mariner; marched to Concord on the 19th April, 1775; served at Bunker Hill; in General Washington's first horse guards at Brandywine, Trenton, Germantown, and Monmouth and was at Valley Forge; captured on a privateer and confined in Mill Prison; went into the merchant service

and was captured by the French; retired from the sea in 1811.

No. 295. Benjamin Upton, 1786-1853, master mariner; commanded the private armed brig *Montgomery* and was captured in 1813; tenth master of the Society.

No. 309. Joseph Waters, 1756-1833, master mariner; served as seaman on privateer ship *Tyrannicide* in 1777; commanded the privateer brigantine *Romulus* in 1781; Federal Agent for building the frigate *Essex* in 1799; commanded a volunteer company of Sea Fencibles in 1812-14.

No. 369. Holten J. Breed, 1782-1868, master mariner; commanded private armed brigs *Montgomery* in 1813, *Grand Turk* in 1814 at the time of her engagement with H. M. packet *Hinchinbrooke*, ship *Fame* in 1815, and bark *Patriot* in 1821.

No. 384. William Sutton, 1800-1882, merchant; Major General of Militia.

No. 420. John H. Eagleston, 1803-1884, master mariner; commanded bark *Peru* and ship *Emerald* in the Fiji trade for Stephen C. Phillips; interpreter at Fiji for the Wilkes Exploring Expedition in 1839; took the first Salem vessel to California after the discovery of gold.

No. 437. Thomas Trask, 1792-1863; clerk on the private armed brig *Enterprise* in 1813, captured and taken to Halifax; United States Consul at Surinam for twenty-one years; served in both branches of the Salem City Government.

No. 442. William B. (Zanzibar) Smith, 1797-1881, master mariner; commanded brig *Cherokee* and ship *Brenda* for John Bertram and Michael Shepard in the Zanzibar trade.

No. 480. Thomas Hunt, 1806-1870, merchant; founded the firm of Thomas Hunt & Company at Canton, China.

No. 499. William McMullan, 1824-1862; United States Consul at Zanzibar.

No. 524. Henry W. Peabody, 1838-1908, merchant; head of the firm of Henry W. Peabody & Co., running a line of ships out of Boston in the Australian trade.

No. 531. William H. Hathorne, 1844-1886, master mariner; served as master's mate with Admiral Farragut on the flagship *Hartford* at Mobile Bay; commanded ships *Glide* and *Taria Topan*; United States Consul and agent for John Bertram at Zanzibar.

No. 539. Edward D. Ropes, 1838-1902, merchant; paymaster's clerk in the U. S. Navy in the Civil War; United States Consul at Zanzibar; senior partner in the firm of Ropes, Emmerton & Co.

No. 591. Leonard A. Bachelder, the dean of the Society, having joined in 1900, and only surviving member of the old Society before the By-laws were altered in 1918; now American Vice Consul at Auckland, New Zealand.

No. 614. Ralph C. Browne, the senior living honorary member, whom, some years ago as you will remember, Admiral Reginald R. Belknap assured us was the inventor of the electric device which made possible the North Sea mine barrage in 1917.

Liberal donations and bequests have helped to carry on the philanthropical work of the Society and more than \$58,000 has been received in varying sums from some thirty benefactors. Those of \$1000 or more being from William Gray, Nathaniel Bowditch, Dudley L. Pickman, Sr., Nathaniel West, Francis Peabody, Michael Lord, Nathaniel Weston, George Higginson, John Percival, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, Timothy Bryant, John P. Andrews, Benjamin W. Stone, William J. Cheever, James B. Curwen and James V. Eagleston. In addition to the above there were three bequests which I will mention individually:

Thomas Perkins, Esq., of Topsfield, formerly an eminent merchant of Salem, died in 1830, bequeathing to the Marine Society at Salem in New England his brick building and land known by the name of Franklin Place on condition "that the said Marine Society shall annually apply the net rents and profits thereof to the relief of such Poor and Indigent Members of the said Society, who may not be given to excessive drinking, as shall be

annually designated by the Officers of the said Society for the time being."

This building, which was erected in 1809, and purchased by Mr. Perkins in 1811 from Josiah Dow, was extremely unfortunate in respect to fires after it was acquired by the Society. Its northern end was destroyed on January 29, 1845, with a loss of \$4450; its southern end seriously damaged on January 4, 1859, with a loss of \$2000; and the building was totally destroyed on October 21, 1860. The first two fires were covered by insurance but when the worst fire came, through error, the insurance policy had expired at noon on the previous day. The following account appears in the Clerk's record book:

"Sunday Morning Oct. 21, 1860 at 2 a.m. Fire was discovered in the south entrance of the Franklin Building making rapid progress. About 2.30 a.m. the south front fell in taking a part of the partition wall with it. The flames quickly spread in the northern section which layed the whole building in ruins. With great difficulty & danger the occupants of the stores in the Basement saved a part of their goods in a damaged state. By still greater exertion was the Portraits & all the Tablets but one (Edw. Stanley's) was saved by Mr. John Lovejoy & myself. Our Library which had been lately fitted up was all lost with all the furniture, carpet, etc. etc. in the Members Hall was all lost. The library consisted of about 30 volumes sent to the Society from Washington by Lt. Maury & Supt. of Coast Survey & Light House board. A large number of Nautical Almanacs & pamphlets with a whole set of Lt. Maury's Charts with sailing directions &c. All was lost. The Insurance Policy expired on Saturday noon. The building had always been insured in Boston and unfortunately for us & the poor of the Society the policy was not renewed so all was lost—\$13,000.

Samuel Benson

Clerk. S. M. Society"

At a meeting held at the Essex House on October 25th it was voted: "that an agent be appointed whose duty it shall be to have all the property belonging to the Society be fully Insured and that he report semi-annually to the Society." Also a committee was appointed to procure subscriptions for re-building. The results might have been worse since the American Insurance Company, of

which Mr. J. Ingersoll Bowditch was President, notwithstanding the policy had expired and they were under no obligation to do so, contributed \$4000 towards the new building and other subscriptions brought the sum up to \$14.315. Mr. Nathaniel I. Bowditch of Brookline sent a donation of \$500 to be distributed among the needy members.

The new building, built along the lines of the original one, was never profitable as constant alterations and repairs were called for, desirable tenants difficult to secure, and two more fires, although of minor importance, occurred on November 19, 1882 and January 21, 1921. The Society continued to occupy the building, however, until 1923 when it was sold to be replaced by the Hawthorne Hotel as already mentioned.

In 1836, Henry Barr of Salem, mariner, left an estate of some \$23,000 in trust for his daughter and her issue with the provision that, if she left no issue it was to go to the Salem Marine Society in trust to be used for the erection and support of "a Bethel Church in Salem for the accomodation of Seamen, to have the Gospel preached to them." The daughter died in 1874 without issue. The will was contested, and on September 30, 1875 the records say: "The Master made a report that the Barr Will was sustained by decision of the Supreme Court after argument by James A. Gillis, Esq., for, and George Wheatland, Esq., against." After a delay of fourteen years on August 2, 1889, the Society voted to accept the Trust which then amounted to \$25,931.04. The following year the Bethel was erected at the foot of Turner Street and at the Annual Meeting in 1891 the Committee in charge reported: "Preaching services have been held every Sunday and generally the house well filled, the variety and good character of preaching and music being much appreciated. The income of the trust fund so heavily taxed has barely equalled the maintenance of the afternoon Services as commenced and no attempt has been made to open a reading room or otherwise to enlarge the work for seamen. The preachers have been Unitarian 8, Congregational 14, Baptist 11, Methodist 7, Advent 1, Episcopal 5, Universalist 6."

In April, 1902, it was voted that the Society was no longer desirous of acting as Trustee under the Barr Will and that it was their wish to have the Young Men's Christian Association appointed in their stead. This was acceptable to the Association and at the October meeting the Master and Clerk were authorized to make the transfer. Captain Barr had not been a member of the Society.

In 1852, Nathaniel West, by the third clause in his will, bequeathed to the Society all his shares of stock and interest in Derby Wharf, as well as all the stores and other buildings upon the Wharf belonging to him, in trust, the income and profits to be applied to the relief and support of widows of indigent members and "I make this and a subsequent provision to testify the interest I feel in the seafaring population of my native place."

The Society found it inconvenient to manage this property and in 1866 a division of the property was assented to by the parties in interest and legally allowed, the portion belonging to the Society was otherwise invested, the income to be used for the original purpose of the bequest.

By the tenth clause he put in the hands of two trustees, whom he named, certain bank stocks, the income to be invested and the whole to accumulate for fifteen years, at the end of which time the trustees should pay the total amount to the Society for the purpose of establishing and forever maintaining a school for the nautical and commercial education of young men of Salem who may be intended for a seafaring life. At the end of the designated fifteen years, as there seemed to be very little call for a school such as Captain West had very meticulously outlined, a compromise was effected with the heirs and by decree of the Supreme Judicial Court, on December 10, 1867, the Society was awarded the sum of \$12,500. to hold and invest, "and apply the income to the general purposes of the Society, and to aid and promote the Nautical and Commercial Education of young men, descendants or relatives of those who have been or may be members of said Salem Marine Society, intended for a Seafaring and Mercantile Life."

And last, but most important, is the relief which the

Society has consistently furnished under the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth clauses of the By-laws. Since 1767, when the Widow Hathorne was assisted, there has hardly been a six-month period, except from March, 1775, to October, 1780, when no meetings were held, that aid has not been forthcoming.

At the Annual Meeting in 1789 the following is recorded: "that the Treasurer should pay out of the Box unto Capt. Habbakuk Bowditch the sum of forty shillings lawful money he being under necessitous circumstances." Capt. Habbakuk, father of Capt. Nathaniel Bowditch, the navigator, joined the Society in 1767 and was Clerk from 1781 to 1785. Aid was continued until his death in 1798 and in appreciation Mr. J. Ingersoll Bowditch inserted this clause in his will: "One thousand dollars to the Old Marine Society of the City of Salem being the same Society which formerly so kindly assisted my grandfather Habbakuk Bowditch."

At the October meeting in 1791 we find: "A committee of seven persons chosen for to assist any vessel that should happen to be in distress with Boats or with what help that is necessary and if ye said person is not able to pay the charge, it should be paid by ye said Marine Society."

Again in 1792: "that the Correspondance Committee be directed to right to Congress to know if anything can be done for our pore brethren persons that are confined at Algiers." In 1797: "Capt. Henry Elkins be excused from paying his dues by reason of misfortunes his last voyage." In 1802: "that Capt. Jesse Smith be excused from paying his arrears having been robbed by the French." Entries of a more or less similar purport run through the Clerk's books.

The Society has distributed altogether the very respectable sum of \$329,379.00 in an effort to be worthy of its motto: "Where virtue reigns, the unfortunate find relief."



GEORGE THOMPSON OF NEWBURYPORT
From a silhouette in possession of the Essex Institute.

DIARY OF GEORGE THOMPSON OF NEW-
BURYPORT, KEPT AT FORTON PRISON,
ENGLAND, 1777-1781.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

George Thompson was a native of Stockholm, Sweden, where he was born "Thamston," but changed the spelling of his name to Thompson after the war. In the roll of prisoners at Forton Prison¹ he is listed as a Prize Master, and his diary corroborates this statement. How long he lived in Newburyport before the war is not known, but upon his return from prison he married, according to St. Paul's Episcopal Church records, on January 6, 1782, Lois, daughter of Edmund, Jr. and Mary Morse, of Newburyport. She was born there on July 5, 1754, and died January 25, 1828. Five children were born to them, Charles, George, Mary, Nancy and Sarah, all baptized at St. Paul's Church between 1782 and 1792. The two sons died at the age of twenty-two and twenty-eight, respectively. There are descendants of the daughter Mary still living in Newburyport.

The writer of this diary was captured in the brig *Expedition* in November, 1777, confined on the English prison ship *Prince of Wales* in New York, transferred to the frigate *Venus* at Rhode Island and later was sent on the transport ship *Myrtle* to England. He tells of his experiences in Forton Prison, from which he escaped in November, 1779, and ultimately returned to this country in the American ship *Polly*, landing in Nova Scotia. Making his way with the help of persons friendly to the American cause, he reached Salem harbor on April 5, 1780 and proceeded to Newburyport. He collected his prize money for the brig *Civil Usage* of Newburyport in 1777, and shipped on board the privateer brig *Hibernia*, Capt. William O'Brien, capturing a prize, the *Malignant*, the following July. He shipped on other privateers up to the summer of 1781.

¹ N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 33, p. 38.

The diary also includes twelve "Rules and Regulations for taking care of sick and hurt seamen," to be observed in Forton Prison, and a very detailed list of directions by means of which one could escape from the prison and reach London where vessels could be found for passage to France or Holland. The volume closes with "A list of the officers' names in Forton Prison," as of December 27, 1778.

The diary is a vellum bound book, six by four inches, and was bought in Gosport, England, when he entered the prison. The handwriting is excellent, but the peculiarity in the spelling, unlike most diaries written by uneducated Americans of that period, is due to the fact that Thompson was a foreigner who was not familiar with written English. By the use of a little imagination, the reader will have no trouble in interpreting the entries.

Nov. 5, 1777 I was Tacken in the Brigg Expedition by A Letter of Markque from London Mounthing 18 guns Commanded by John Heaggy

Dec. 8 I was Sent on bord of the prisson Ship Prins of Walse in Newyork

Dec. 27 I was Sent on bord of his Magistas Fregat Vennus to Roade Island to bee Exchenst

Apr. 15, 1778 I was Tacken out of the prisson Ship Cleburn and Sent on bord of the Transport Ship Mirtle in Order to bee Karid to England Cap^{tn} Burton Commander

May 12 Came to an Anchar in Spithead wer thir was 39 Shipping of the Line Laing

June 19 I was Exsamind and Committed to Fortune Prisson

July 2 Receved A Letter from M^{rs}. Dallstrom

July 6 Cap^{tn} Dinnes and his Crew was Committed Which is 69 in Number

July 10 Receved from M^r Dugard 2 Whit Shirts 2 per of thread Stockings as gratias

July 17 Receved A Letter from M^r Dallstrom

July 24 Teen of the prisners Mead thire Eskapes

Which Cap^{tn} Hineman Cap^{tn} Dinnes Cap^{tn} Murfee Cap^{tn} Thiw Cap^{tn} Hacom M^r Tryan M^r Leacher M^r Barbetrong and Tow others I Received Som Cloths from London

July 27 I Writh 2 Letters one to London and one to Amsteldam one Prich [prize] Master and 7 Men Com. in to prisson

July 31 Grettest part of the Prisners Layd a skem to breck out but was found out by Information

Aug. 13 Rec^d a Letter from My broder in Amsteldam datted 7

Aug. 26 M^r Wiegstrom Mead Mee a precent of one Genny

Aug. 27 I writh a Letter to M^r Dallstrom in London

Sept. 7 56 of the prisners brock out of Fourtune Prisson

Sept. 8 19 Prisners was brought back and put in the blak hole

Sept. 9 6 of the prisners was thacken up and bragt back and put in the blak hole

Sept. 10 M^r Robinson was bragt back and put in the black hole

Sept. 16 24 of the prisners was Let out of the blak hole by Intersestion of the Offeecers of the Gard

Sept. 25 I Writh one Letter to M^{rs} Dollstron and one to M^r Jarell Steen in London

Oct. 13 Rec^d a Letter from My broder in Amsteldam

Nov. 4 I writh a Letter to My broder in Amsteldam one to Cap^{tn} Redcherson in London and one to M^{rs} Dallstrom

Nov. 21 Rec^d a Letter from Mrs. Dallstrom and with an ancer back

Nov. 25 Rec^d a Letter from My broder in Amsteldam With a bill of Exchens and an Order upon M^{rs} Heeneken and Hoftham in London and 20 of the prisners broak out of black hole

Nov. 26 12 of the prisners was brought back and I Indorsed a bill to M^r Thomas Adams in Gosport

Dec. 2 in the Evening Cap^{tn} Moore Cap^{tn} Greenell

and Cap^{tn} Luss thryd to Meak thir Eskaps but was Disappointed

Dec. 7 I Gote the bill of Exchenst Chenst bought bearskin Cothing fore a Great Coate

Dec. 9 I writh a Letter to My broder in Amsteldam

Dec. 10 Cap^{tn} Moor Cap^{tn} Marreditt M^r Robinson M^r Brambarry and Tomson Mead thir Eskaps out of the prisson hospittell

Dec. 16 Rec^d a Letter from My broder in Law in Calmar datted the 20 of Sep^t M^r Swen Keen by Neame

Dec. 17 15 of the prisners enterd om bord of his Magstys Ship the Lenix

Dec. 18 a Letter Detted the 9 Di^t was Returned to mee again

Dec. 19 I Writh a Letter to My broder in Amsteldam

Jan. 13, 1779 M^r Flogg and M^r Dayvis Mead thire Eskaps out of fourten prisson

Jan. 15 Friday Naight 7 of the prisners Mead thire Eskapes of fourten prisson

Jan. 16 Saterdag Naight 3 of the Officers thrid to Mack thire Eskapes but was apprehended and put in the black hole thire Neams Cap^{tn} Smith Doc. Allen M^r Newcomb this Gentelmane Gave the Sioldier that Was to Let them Go [£]1.^s5

Jan. 16 the Same Sioldier afther he had Gote the Monny Informed upon them

Jan. 17 Sunday Cap^{tn} Smith Docttor Benjamin Allen and M^r Newcomb was ordered out of the black hole

Jan. 19 Tuesday in the Morning Tow of the prisners Thrid to Maeck thire Escapes and Gave the Sentry [£]1.^s7 as Soon as the Sayd Sentry Gote the Monny from the prisners he that Instant Informed on them and Gote them put in black hole

Jan. 19 In the Evening thire was 32 American prisners Committed to fourtuen prisson

Jan. 20 Wednesday 3 of the prisners Enterd on bord of his Magestas Ship Lenix and four of the prisners that Mead thir Ecapas the 15 was braought back and put in the blak hole

Jan. 21 Thoursday 3 of the prisners that Mead thir Escapes the 15 was brought back and put in the french blak hole this day an Agreement was Mead between the Officers and Seamen and others if enny Mane officer our Mane offer to Enter on bord of the Britanik Ships of war after the 24 of this present Month Showld Sofer the punishment of 39 Strips and to heave one of his Ears Cut of as Soon as this peas of Writhing was put up Docter Gardin belonggin to fourteen prisson tore it of that Instant the Agent M^r Newham Informed us with an Order from the borde that if anny Mane offerd to Meak thir Eskape Should be put back on the List

Jan. 24 Sunday M^r Conner Mead his Escape out of fourtuen prisson this Morning four More Mead thire Escapes and one our after of the Same was brought back by M^r Thomas Francis a Gardiner in the afternoon 7 of the prisners was put in to the blak hole fore passing the Sentens on one Rodgers an Informer his Centens was 100 Strips after that thay was put in the Rest of thay prisners went and took the Informer out of the Cook Roun and husseld him over the Yard

Jan. 29 Friday in the Evning one Conninggoom a prisner in the blak hole brock out and was tacken up by Richard Thommas a Turnky of fourtuene prison this day wee hade the News of Tow Cartils Com in to the harber Which proved to bee french

Jan. 30 Saturdav in the Evening M^r Newcomb Gote in the Cook Room With an Intention to Meacke his Escapse but was Informed on

Jan. 31 Sunday in the Morning about 10 a Clock the Ginny Cap^{tn} our Cap^{tn} Passons Which was Cap^{tn} of the Gard this day Com in to the prisners Yard with the Wole Gard for to put one Man in the blak hole

Feb. 4 Thoursday in the Evning about 7 a Clok a hole was found out in the other prisson which prevented the prisners from Macken thire Escaps

Feb. 7 betwen Sunday & Monday Nights tow officers and three pravet men thrid to Meak thir Eskapes but was prevented by the Garde

Feb. 10 Wednesday in the Evening between 8 and 10 a Clok Cap^{tn} Greenell Cap^{tn} Luse and My Self thrid to Meak our Escapes but was prevented by one M^r Newcomb upon an account of his Mis behevor of his Mis Conduct, and writh Sundry billets to the officer of the Gard wi Capet Whact all this Night

Feb. 13 Saturday Niaght one officer and 11 preavets Mead thir Escapes from Fortune prison

Feb. 16 Tuesday in the afternoon 4 of the privet Mean that Mead thir eapes the 13 was braght back to fortune prison Thos Men Gate as fare as poole in west of England

Feb. 17 Wednesday this day tow of the prisoners that Made their Escape the 13 was broaght back to fortune prison after being Confined in fetters in bridvill in Porthsmoth

Feb. 18 Thursday 2 American officers and 18 pravet people was Committed to fortune prison

Feb. 19 Friday this day four american prisoners was Committed and a privet hole that the prisoners was digging under Ground was found out this hole was doag with and Intention to Meake our Escapes

Feb. 20 Saturdav Tow of the prisoners that Made their Escapes the 13 was tacken up in London and brought back to fortune prison

Feb. 28 Sunday This day 7 of the Committi Men that was put in the blak hole the 24 of Jannuary upon the account of Rodgers was tacken out and put in the Gard among the other prisners

Mar. 2 Tuesday this day wee hade the News that the Cartill hade Left the Downes with an Intention to Go to Plemouht

Mar. 6 Saturday this day Came downe from London the heay[?] Inspector of all the Kings prissons in Englan for to Rigtify our Grivences but non of us Culd get an Opportunaty to Speek to him on account of the Agent the Doctor and the Clark Keppet Close by His Side this Gentelman Delivered both the black holes of their prissoners both French and Americans

Mar. 13 Saturday this day wee had a paper Caled the St. James Cronicle wher their was the News of the Ship Millfords Arivell in Plemouth which is the Carteel Ship fore the Americans this day one of the Americans Made his Esape and was brought back by M^r Thomas Frances and M^r Mason

Mar. 15 Monday a Letter Came from plemouth which Give an acount that the prisoners was ordered to bee Inbaret on bord of the Carteell Ship Milford and to proceed fore France with the first faire wind it Seams that the Number of prissoners that was going was Pardoned by the King which tow of the Number died but 2 More Could Nott be Replast in thire Rouns becas thier was Nō More pardend

Mar. 25 Thursday in Afternoon Bartholomy White was wounded by the Corporall of the Garde this villian by acompt haes tretend the prissoners before this Corporalls Nem is Spelman the Officer on Garde was M^r Parssons our Ginny Cap^{tn} by Neinem

Mar. 26 Friday This day Di[e]d Bartholmy White that was Wounded the day before

Mar. 27 Satuerday this day a Diurry [Jury of inquest?] was Expected to bee Sote on the Corps of the Wounded man but the Corroner whould Kont tack the Qualification of an American

Mar. 28 Monday this day I Recevd a Letter from Amsteldam detted the 23 of March and I Writh an anser back

Mar. 30 Tuesday This day A Dewry [Jury] Sote on the Man that was Shot the 25 and it was Brouth in Excedently Thiss Men that Sote on the dewry was the woorst Men that Could bee found in Gosport towne thay were picte out by the officers of the Hamsher Malitia wich did Garde over us

April 5 Monday This day M^r David Heartly the American Agent Came in tho the prisson Yard and Informed us that wi vare to be Exchint Acording to Com-mitment

April 13 Monday This day 200 French prisoners was Karid away to Winchester prison

April 15 Therday This day 200 French prisoners was Karid away to Winchester prison and 22 of our on prisoners brock out of prison 8 of the Same was braet back and the other 12 gote doane to a place Called Stocks bay and thire gote a Kings Barch as for them that was brougt back was put in to the blak hole

April 16 Friday this afternoon 8 of the prisoners that made thire Eskapes the day befor was tacken up in the Kings Chanall by a Cuter that was Sent in persut after them

April 19 Monday This day 10 american prisoners was Committed to Forton prison

April 26 Monday This 22 american prisoners was Committed to Forton prison

April 27 Tuesday This day I Writh a Letter to M^{rs} Dalstrom in London

May 23 Sunday this day 6 of the prisoners out of the other hous and M^r Turpine out of our hous Meade thier Escape

May 30 Sunday this day 5 of the prisoners that made thir Esape the 23 past was braought back and put in the blak hole thier Names Mr. Turpeen Gooding Lilebrige Babbs and one Reding this Last man Turnd out bee an Informer he Informd against the Man That Keapt him head

June 21 Monday this day wee hade an acoumpt of the Ship Millfords arivel to Portsmouth which is the Carteel Ship for the amerians

June 23 Wednesday this day 2 of our prisoners Entered in tho the Kings Sarvis which Baniamen Hall Toppen and Redding

June 24 Thoursday This day wee hade the News of an Order beeing Sent downe to M^r Neusham the Agent for to Delever 120 prisoners to the Cap^{tn} on bord of the Carteel as Soon as She Should bee Redy to Receve them on bord

June 25 Friday this day the Cap^{tn} of the Carteel

Ship Came up to See us and told us that he Should bee Redy to tack us on bord in five or Six days thime

June 26 Saturday this day I and Severall others Lerned that wee ware put back on the List as Soon as wee found it out for a certenty wee emedelly Writh an Letter to the bord of Commitioners of the Sick and hurt Seamen to Remind them of thier prommis Made us and Lick whise writh a letter to M^r David Heartly Esqr. our amerian Agent for to prisent our Case to the bord of Commitioners wee Wrot a Letter to M^r Nasham our Agent but wee Coluld knot get anny Redres from him hee told us hee hade his orders from the bord of Commitioners

June 30 Wednesday this day I writh tow letters to america one to Nathan Tracey of Newbarry and a nother to M^r Reecharde Derik in Newcastle Compty this day 119 of the prissoners was Called over upon the list fore to keep them Selves in Redines for to go on bord of the Carteel

July 2 Friday this day one Hundered and Nienteen of the prissoners was tacken out of the Yard and Imbarct on bord the Carteel Ship Milford laing at Speethead and M^r Rilly Green Caplin and mass Came out of the black hole afther being Confined 81 days in Cloce Confinment

July 4 Sunday Neight about a Eleven a Clock 13 of the prissoners maed thier Escapes out of Forton prison thier Names Cap^{tn} Greenell M^r Brian M^r George Smith M^r Willcox M^r Smith M^r Low M^r Raily M^r Haens M^r Turpeen Gooding Babbs Caplin Green

July 6 Tusday This evening Cap^{tn} Greenell M^r Willcox and M^r George Smith was braght back and put in the black hole

July 7 Wednesday at 2 a Clok PM the Carteel wayd anchor from Speethead

July 8 Thorsday this day three american prissoners was Committed to fortton prison

July 9 Friday this day one Walles was braght back this man made his Escape the 23 of may as Soon as he Came in to prisson hee was put in the blak hole

July 11 Sunday this day the Pres gans prest out of

all the Churches in England under the Sarmon

July 12 Monday this day wee hade News that the English fleet was Cheast in to Tarbay by the French and Spanich fleets the 6 of this Mont

July 18 Sunday this day wee hade the News of Gener^l Provosts armia being defiated in South Carrolina by Genneral Lincone 1400 being Kiled and wounded and 700 Tacken prissoners

July 20 Monday this day I writ a Letter to My broder in Calmar by the way of France

Aug. 4 Wensday this day thire was 200 French prissoners Marcht away to Winchester

Aug. 7 Satuerday this day five american prissoners was Comited to Forton prison three privets one Docttor and one price Master

Aug. 9 Monday This day thier was 13 prissoners Comited to Forton prison 8 privets tow officers and 3 passengers the ver tacken in a Letter of Mark brigg belongin to Philadelphia

Aug. 12 Thoursday this day Tow hundered french prissoners was Marcht to Winchester prison

Aug. 15 Sunday This day three of the officers was Lett out of the black hole which Cap^t Greenell M^r Wilcox and M^r George Smith

Aug. 16 Monday this day 200 hundered of the french Prissoners was Marcht away 50 Miles in the Contry

Aug. 17 Tuesday this day 5 of our prisoner Entered in tho the Kings Sarvise Which John Bell John Camell Enick Napp Joseph Eales and Lewgy Darling

Aug. 18 Wednesday this day 200 of the french prisooners were Marcht in tho the Contry

Aug. 20 Friday This day 200 of the french prissoners Marcht away in the Contry

Aug. 23 Monday this day 200 of the french prissoners was tacken out of fortion prison and Marcht to Winchester wee hade an acompt of the Combind fleet and the Enggelich hade Com tho an Engagement the 16 of this Month

Aug. 25 Wednesday this day 200 of the french prisoners was Marcht away to Winchester one Cap^{tn} Robertson Son and Cheef Meate was Committed to fortton prison

Aug. 31 Wednesday between Tuesday and this day M^r Willcox and Lillebrich maede thire Esepe out of the Hospittal

Sept. 2 Thoursday in the Neight four of the prisoners gote out of the other prison in evin to Meack thier Escapes but was taeken up and put in tho the black hole

Sept. 3 Friday this Day the G[r]and fleet of England Returnd to pourtsmouth which it is Said is forts [forced] in by the franch flett this fleet is under the Command of Admirall Hardy to prisoners was tacken up and bragt back which M^r Willcox and Lillebrech

Sept. 5 Sunday this day wee Reseved the News of Carteels arivell to Speathade the 2 Ints. Monday foloing wee gote Severall Letters from France

Sept. 7 Tuesday this day I Receved a Letter from My broder in Amsteldam dated the 27 of August

Sept. 10 Satuerday this Evenning fourty Sick marrins was braugt up to the hossipittall

Sept. 12 Sundav this evenning Seventy three Sick marrins was braugt up

Sep. 13 Monday this evenning fourty Sick Marrins was braegt up: at 1 a Clock this Morning 6 officers and 5 privets brock out the blak hole for to Meack thier Escapes which M^r George Smith Cap^{tn} Greenell M^r Forman M^r Bosstick Docter briggs and M^r Willcox this Leater was Catcht in the hole wen hee was Comming out

Sept. 14 Tuesday this afternoon the following men was braugt back which M^r Forman M^r Bosstick and five privets

Sept. 27 Mondav this day I Writh 2 Letters one to Calmar and the other to Amsterdam this day Cap^t Roberson made his Eskape

Oct. 14 Thoursday this day was Committed to fortton prison 6 of Cap^{tn} Jonsies Crew master of the Shipe Liufftenant of marins and the masters meat and 3 privets besides 5 More americans this people was tacken upon the Cost of Irland in the Shipes boath

Oct. 13 Monday this day I was teacken Sick and was put in tho the hospitall the Same day 60 american prissoners was Committed priveteers Crew this prissoners was tacken in a priveter Caled the Jennerall Glover Com-manded by Cap^{tn} Barthlet

Oct. 20 Wednesday this day 3 of Cap^{tn} Barthlets people Entered in to his Madjestes Sarvis

Oct. 21 Thoursday this day M^r John Wardell made his Escape out of prisson in the Middel of the day

Oct. 22 Friday this day all the English fleet left Speethhead and went to Sea teen of the Same fleet was Ordered to Texels in holland to demand Cap^{tn} Jones now laing in texels

Nov. 1 Monday this Evening I and M^r Newcomb made our Escapes from fortton prisson and wee vent tho M^r Thomas Francis house and this Same Gentleman kar-rid us over the water too pourtSmouth and then went whith us too M^r Wreene house and from thens he karrid us to a frind of hissend but wen wee Came thier it was 12 a Clock of the Night and the man of the house denid us entherens wee were ablige to Stay in the Street all Night till 6 Clock in the Morning Before wee was tacken in tho the house but afther the Man Come to find out that wee were Sent by M^r Wreen hee Reseved us with Kindnes and Secretted us in his house

Nov. 2 Tuesday this Evening M^r Wreen and M^r Francis Came to Se me in my Lodgings

Nov. 4 Thoursday This Evening M^r Wreen Came to Se us in our Lodgings and give his word that he would healp us as Soon as Possible hee gave us an Acompt that three more prissoners brock out of Fortton prisson this Evening

Nov. 6 Saturday this day M^r Salter [came] to us in our lodgins and told us that he Could get us a pasges in the Same Ship as he was going in and the Same Evening he came with Cap^{tn} Cook and told us that we may go on bord about 6 a Cloke the Same Evening Came on bord the Sayd Ship polly and was Receved with kindness By the Meat of the Ship I writh a Letter to amsterdam

Nov. 11 Thoursday this day the Rev^d M^r Wren Sent me on bord 2 Shirt 1 Jacket 1 pr of drase 1 pare of Yarne Stocking 1 hate 1 heankerchif and the Same to M^r Thomas Newcomb this Evening M^r Bradstreet Came on bord

Nov. 16 Tuesday this afternoon wee wayd anchor from Speahead and jande the Confio [Convoy] and fleth thier was 40 Sail in all

Nov. 18 Thoursday this Morning wee hove to of Rame head and gote another Conflow a frigat Cald the Airen

Atlantic Ochen on bord of the Ship Polly December 7 No. 1779 Tuesday this day I Received Som Clothing from M^r Parson which 3 Jackits and 2 pare of Trosses one pare of Drass [Drawers]

Feb. 23 Monday at 5 PM Spocke a Pollacker pri-veteer from New York Mounthing 22 No. 9 pounders Commanded by Cap^{tn} Robbert Sheel in Long^d 65:00:° and Latt^d of 29 - 30 N^o

Feb. 24 Tuesday at 6 a m made the Island of Bar-muda the Island bearing WNW Distance 6 Leag.

Jan. 29 Saterdag Give an order upon Cap^{tn} Salter fore 2£-11s 9d + 12 Shillings of this Monny I ansard fore M^r John Wardell

Febe 11 Friday this day I Give an order upon M^r Salter for 4 Shillings and Sixpence for one p' of Shows at 4 a Clock in the afternune Came to an anchor in Ma-houne on the Coste of Novaskotia

Febe 12 Satuerday this day Cap^{tn} put us a Shour at 8 Clock in Morning in afternun wee Came to one M^r Winfsons hous a frind to the americans which went to the Cornell in Lunenburg and Reported us that we came in the Ship Polly from England

Feb. 15 Tusday This morning about 10 a Clock wee left Lunenburg one M^r John Arrenbarg ware wee hade our Lodgings was So kind as note taik anny for our Vitol-ing and ven wee Came away he Sent a gaide along whit us this day it Cost us 11 Shillings for our dayly Expence

Feb. 17 Thoursday this Morning at 8 a Clock wee

Left M^r Matias Parkers house at pottil Levear it Cost us for tow nights and one day 9 Shillings for our Lodgings

Feb. 19 Satuerday this Morning M^r Simon Bradsterett and M^r Thomas Newcomb went up to Liverpolle from M^r Cahoons in Novascotia things was So Dificoult that wee dare not all venter to go thire Dileved to M^r Thomas Newcomb the Sume of 1-10 Shillings

Feb. 23 Wednesday this I Rece^d a Letter from M^r Simon Bradstrett in Liverpolle which give me Sattisfaction that maters Stood wall in Liverpolle —

Feb. 25 Friday this day Came in a Scooner from Martinica belonging to Marvell head in america Comanded by Cap^{tn} Isaik Coljer which was made a prize of by the inhabitance this people is as frindly as the amerians them Selves Can bee but it was by the persuation of the Ships Company that the inhabbitans made a prize of her So they are not to be blemed portmidway

Feb. 27 Sunday thes day the In habitans of portmidway ware So Kind as to give mee and my partner three baggs of Coffe and three baggs of Cotton the Same day about 1 a Clock the Colitore from Liverpolle Came doune to portmidway to thack Chard of the Scooner this Scooner Came in to portmidway in Distres

Feb. 28 Monday this day M^r John Wardell went up tho Liverpoole whit Cap^{tn} Cole

Feb. 29 Tuesday this day I left M^r William Cohunes house wear I hade Lodge a Leven days which Cost me and my comrads 12 Shillings hallifax Currency and fore one par of Shows for M^r Simon Bradstret 10 Shilling Portmidway the Same Evening Came to harring Cove

Mar. 1. Wednesday this day Came up tho Liverpolle ware I was Received with a gret dell of Sevillaty by Cap^{tn} Dane a gret frind to the American Cause

Mar. 2 Thourday this day I bought one p^r of Rebb. Stockings one p^r of kne bouckells one p^r of Slive butons and yards of blak Ribbens which in all Cost mee 17£-6^d that Currency lent 1£-6^d to M^r Crow

March 3 Friday this day Seteled the Rooming with M^{rs} Snow in Liverpoole which amonted to 5£-16^s-3^d hal-

lifax Currence and for Eigheen lb of bread and $3/4$ of butter it Cost us 15^s-6^d which in all amounts to 6-12-0 I Delived to M^r bradstret 2 S: and 6 d: of the owed Stock

Mar. 4 Saterdag in the Evening Harring Cove along with M^r Arnole belonging to littel harber this night at a 11 a Clok we took in three Amerians of the Westen head of portmatune

Mar. 5 Sunday this Morning went in to port lebeer Rover to Looek for Som anchors that the brigg Fame hade Lost the day in afternoon Came to Littels harber ver M^r Arnold house

March 7 Tuesday this Morning Left M^r Benjamin Arnold in littel harbor he was So kind as to let us heave a boath to go to portletore vare wee Arived at 4 a Clok in the afternoon at one M^r Swens

Mar. 8 Wednesday at 2 a Clok in afternun wee left M^r Swens house in portleton at 6 in the Evening Came to Barrington vere we gote Lodgins at one M^r Thomas Greenwood

Mar. 9 Thoursday this Morning Shifted our lodgins from Thomas Greenwood to Cap^{tn} Smith which Ceeps a publick house in the Town of barrington

Mar. 11 Saturday this day wee Looect at a valing boath belonging to Cap^{tn} David Smit but found it wold not ancer this afternoon Cap^{tn} Friman and a officer Came downe from liverpoll to the town of Barrington the Same Evening wee left Cap^{tn} David Smits house in Barrington and went Downe to M^r Crows about to mils from vere we was

Mar. 12 Sunday this morning about 7 a Clock wee left Crows housse and vent on bord of his boath in order to go to Capperew ware wee arived at 2 a Clock in the afternoon were wee wer Recommended to one M^r Butlers to house to lodge

Mar. 14 Tuesday this day in the afternoon wee left M^r Butler and vent to tack up a privet lodgins wee gote at a Rame [Room] at one M^r William Hasskins in Yarmouth

Mar. 16 Thoursday this day I lade in a fortnighs

proviton for five men which $1/4$ of a Quintall of fish 20 lb of flour 24 lb Ingen Meal one buchell of pottaes

Mar. 17 Friday this day one M^r Barns a Store Ceeper was So Genneras as to mack me a preceant of 6 lb of Sugger and told mee if I Should wont anny more for to Come to him and he would let mee have more wen ever I Stood in nide of anny

Mar. 25 Satuerday this day I bought $1/2$ buchell of Ingen male

Mar. 27 Monday this day I went and Spooock to Cap^{tn} Barnett fore a passage for my Salf and and Six more to go to Newengland and bought $1/2$ bu. Ingen male for our Sea Store

Mar. 30 Friday this day I give a Recept to M^r Simon Bradstreet for 3[£]—10 Shillings Hallifax Currency the Same Sume I promist to pay to M^r Bartholome Nilan Merchant in Boston

April 1 Satuerday this Morning at 8 a Clock left Yarmouth in Cap fortew in a Small Sooner belonging to one M^r Barnett which give us our passeg free thire was in all 9 priss. on bord the Same night about 12 of the Clock it bloo varry hard wee lost one Cap^{tn} Dugard over bord the Same man belongd to Marvelhead

April 5 Wednesday this Morning about 6 a Clock made Cap ann which bore from us W b S Dipt. 4 leauges at one a Clock in the afternoon we Gote Save in to Salem harber wer wee parted with wardwell & Newcomb

April 7 Friday this morning I left Salem about 6 a Clock ab 2 inaftern. Came to Newbury and Rec^d from my Agent the Sume of 150£ Lafull monny our 500 Dollers

April 8 Satuerday this day vent to a privett lodgins to one M^{rs} Sarra Noyss Recv^d from M^r Samule Turffs the Sume of 300£ Lafull Money our 1000 Dollers

April 10 Monday this day I Setteld Whith my Agent for all my prize Monny in the brigge Covelunge [Civil Usage] in the Yare 1777

May 17 I Landed to Eastward of Cape Louies about 3, Withe 20 men under my Command out of the briggant

Hibernia upon an Expedition in a battery of ten peeces of Cannan and a Cast way Scooner belongin [to] the King of Graet Britan

May 18 Thoursday this Morning at half past 9 a Clock took the fort at Cape Louies Rock and a Cast Away Scooner Sent the Gayd and one man away with Dispatches to Cap^{tn} William Obrian

May 19 Friday This day I Streept the Scooner Malignat of all her Stors Which 10 Dooble fortifid 4 pounders 32 half bbl. of powder 2 Cabbles 1 harser 1 to lin and all her Standing R. a bove and below 35 Saber armes 2 Blund^b 17 Cutlascihs 27 Bayonets 5 box^s of Grape 1 box Kannisters Shote 2 of Handgranads 12 powder horns and Several Quales of Rigger 1 graplin 6 Coob^b 2 foursails 1 Main Sail 2 top Sails 1 Asiment Compas 6 Log Glasis 1 half hour glas 1 Large Copper Cittell 4 Duzen of Copper hoops 7 funnell D^r 2 boath Lods of Shote

May 20 Saterdag this day Sote fire to the briggantine Malignant about 6 a Clock in the Morning which Continnud burning till Evening and we gote a gret dell of Iran Work out of her

July 13 Thoursday this day I Rece^d from M^r Sam-Tufts the Sume of 7666^{do}-4^s or 2300[£] Lawfull Money in part of my priz

July 22 Newburyport, Saterdag this day I reced from M Samule Tufts the Sume of 857 D^o or 257£ 2 S.

Sept. 21 Thoursday, on the Cost of Novaskotia This day I was Drove a Shore in the Scooner Irich Gimblet by a privateer this privateer belong to Bosston Comman^d by Paouly Wesston which I found out 2 days afterw^d in the East pasige

NewburyPort Oct. 9 Monday this day I mead a full Setteltment with M^r Samule Tufts Agent of the brigg Hibernia for all the Prize Monny I hade in her

Jan. 29, 1781 Tock the Command of the Sloop Shaunbuy

Aug. 8 Dillivered up the Com^d of the Sloop Shaunby and Setled accoumpt with M^r W. Scallon

Aug. 10 Shippt as Second Liuf^{tnd} on bord of the pri-

veteer briggantine Littel porgi Commanded by Cap^{tn}
Armstrong Mounting 12 four pounders

By The Commssioners For Taking Care of Sick and hurt
Seamen Regulations which are to be obsarved by the
Prisoners

A 1

Good Order in all Repects is to be observed by them
and the directions of the Keeper and Agent are to be
obeyed without Murmuring or endeavoring to Raise any
discontent or Mutiny among the prisoners; Much Less
is any prisoners to dare to offer any Menace or insult by
word or action, to the Keeper and Agent, or any acting
under him, upon pain of being put into Closer Confine-
ment, and upon half Allowance of Provision, or Such
other punniShment as the Case May deserve, and they
are hereby informed, that no person has a Right to beat,
or in any Manner ill treat theam or will be Sufferd to do
it with impunity

2

If Orders are given for their being Regularly Mus-
tered, it is Expected each prisoner Shall Redily answer
to his Name as often as Requird, if any one Should Wil-
fully Neglect doing it, the Agent has Orders to put him
upon half Allowance of Provisions for three days

3

If the prison is damaged by the prisoners, the Expence
of Repairing it will be made Good to the Crown By Stop-
ping half the Allowance of provisions from all the pris-
oners, if they Refuse to declare the Names of the par-
ticular persons who did the Damage, but upon their giv-
ing in the Names of those persons to the Agent, the Dilin-
quents alone will then be subsisted with half Allowance,
till the Said Expence is made Good, and Such prisoners
will also be put into Closer Confinment then usual

4

If any prisoner Should be taken in attempting to Es-
cape, or having Escaped from the prison, he will be put
into Stricter Confinment and upon half Allowance of pro-
visions for forty days, or as the Case May deserve

5

As water and tubs for washing their Linen and Cloaths, will be allowed, the prisoners are advised to keep their persons Clean as possible it being very Conducive to Good health

6

The prisoners are not to fight or quarrel among themselves, or to Raise any disturbance in the prison, on pain of being put into Close Confinment, and upon half Allowance of provisions for So long as it be judged, upon Representation to us, their offences May deserve

7

The prisoners are Expected by turns to Sweep and Clane the prison, and the prison Yard, for which purpose brooms and Scrapers will be provided and delivered to them by the Turnkey those who Refuse will be put upon half Allowance for three days, and till they Submit to assist their fellow prisoners in what is So Necessary for good of the whole

8

The prisoners will be Indulged between the hours of Nine and Two O'Clock in the day time, to purchase at an open Market at the Gate, Such Articles of fruit, or other, Refreshment as they May Chuse, or any Articles of Cloathing they May be able to purchase with redy Money, or they May Inform the Keeper and Agent of Such Arti: of Cloathing as they May Stand in need of, and have Money to pay for, and he will take Measures for their being Supplid with them, and for their not being imposed upon, but whosoer Shall by this Means attempt to procure Spiritous Liquors, or other things Improper for prisoners to heave, or to deliver or receive any Letter unexamind by the Agent will be put upon half Allowance, and punished by Confinment likewise as the Abuse of the Indulgence May deserve

9

The prisoners are ordered to be Victualled according to the Subjoind Scheme

10

For the better Satisfaction of the prisoners, and as a

Meanes to prevent Goundles Clamors the prisoners are to be permit^d to Chuse two of their body, and to Change them as they like, to attend everry day at the Recept and weiging, and to Continu in the Cook Room during the Dressing and issuing of the provisions to See that they are good in quality, and they provided according to the Scheme of diet and if any just Cause of Complaint of any Sort arises, they are, in a becomming Manner, to Make it known to the Keeper and Agent, whose duty it is to Redress it as Soon as possible, and if it is Neglected, the prisoners May write to us, but whoever under this pretext Shall Mak unjust Complaints will be punished by being put upon half Allowance and in Closer Confinement, as the Case May deserve

11

As the prisoners are ordered to be Victualing in Messes if it Shall at any time appear, that Notwith standing one or More of any particular Mess Shall have escaped, the Remainder has Received the full Allowance for the whole, by which Mean the Escape May be Concealed and an undue Issue of ProviSions Made, the offenders, upon Discovery, will be put upon half Allowance for Forty days

12

If any of the prisoners Should purloin or willfully destroy their hammocks, bedding, hospitall dresses, or any Cloathing furnished those in want will, upon discovery be put upon half Allowance till the first Cost of Such is Made good to the Crown

	Table of Victualing					
	Beer quarts	bread pounds	beef po—	butter ounces	Cheese ounces	pease pints
Sunday	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	....	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Monday	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	....	....	....
Tuesday	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	....	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Wednesday	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	....	....	....
Thoursday	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	....	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Friday	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	....	....	....
Saturday	1	1	....	4 or	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
	7	7	$4\frac{1}{2}$	4	or 6	2 or

The Meat to be boild into broth and the broth to be Served with it to the prisoners this broth as they Call it is nothing but Clare watter The Nuber of Prisoners now in Fortune prison in all is 235 and in Mill prison is about 300 this is an account by Good Attorraty Fortune Prison the 18 of febr: 1779

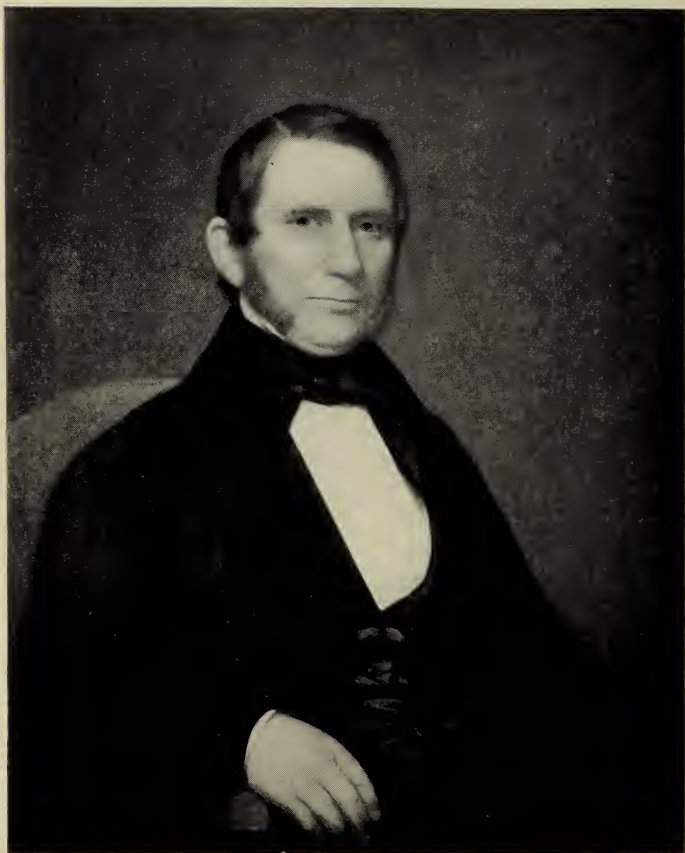
Direction as Folles use fortune To forham 5 mils from forham to hauant directly East 8 Mils from hauant to Chichester 9 Mi. from Chichester to arundel 10 M. from Arundel to Little hampton 3 Mils little hampton is a Small Seaport where Leis one Mathers Cole who is Somtimes Implied to Carry passengers to Haverdegrace or a Set of Smuglers he keeps a Deetd boat his price is Commonly about 3 Guines he is Redy to go to haverdegrace any day or Every day in the week he Commonly Runs from Little hampton in about 16 hours Exceeding fond of Such Jobbs, In tacking Chaise at Chichester it May be Righ to Say You are going to arundle without Mentioning Little hampton but when in the Road to direct the decarn to go to hampton as the whole is but a Moderate Stage the people at farhame are Not frindly the people at haunt are Rather better if it Could be done it Might be advisable to walk all the way to havant urs over past down and Get Some Carriges or horses at at havant Go to M^{rs} Sisards at the bear when at hampton if Cole Should not be at home Town of Shearham Lise at little to the Esatward of ham^t where are Many fishen boates and others who Keep Vessels along that Shore M^r John Brookman N^o 23st Martins Street London M^r Bushell Cocehman Chatham M^r Whit Chartham at the Sign of the Seurborrhig Cat. Deal to pool Lying westward To tichfield from thens to Ringwood from thens to Soithampton from thens to Lymington from thens to Pool lives M^r howell to the Estward fearham to weekham to haunt to Chichester to Little hampton where Lives Mathias Cole farther Eastward list Buthelmstone where Lives those Cleare at the westend of towns if You Should be so Fortunate as to Make or get to London Repair to the Caroline Coffee house which You will Easely find by Enquering for it ther or Your Directing Yourself to be

an American You will find frinds but do not be too hasty in Letting any one Know that You are from Fortune prison, on Your arrival in London Repair to the Royall Exchange which is not far from St. Pauls when You go on the Exchange it Must be between the hour of 12 and 2 o Clok wher You will find an American you May with Safty Let them Know that you are an American but dont to Soon Discover to them that You have made Your Escape from fortune prison You will Discovering them Soon Learn whether they are in the Cauces of america or not if they are You will Recive asstians from them to Carry You to France or to Holland.

Dec. 27

1778 A list of the Officers Neams in Fourtune Prisson

Cap ^{tn} Harris	M ^r Arno	M ^r Bramberry
M ^r Lunt	M ^r Laurrier	M ^r Tho. Smith
Cap ^t Moore	M ^r Wardle	M ^r Porter
M ^r Moore	M ^r Hensdale	M ^r Pratt
M ^r White	M ^r Toppan	M ^r Triglow
M ^r Bryant	M ^r Arnold	M ^r Smith
Capt. Oakman	Capt Meurison	M ^r Fanning
M ^r Robinson	M ^r Greenleaf	M ^r Conner
M ^r Weybert	M ^r Bowers	M ^r Ryworth
Doctor Segar	M ^r Howard	M ^r Rhodes
M ^r Clarke	M ^r Dame	M ^r Beers
M ^r Arthur	M ^r Gardiner	M ^r Tucker
M ^r Smith	M ^r Tyler	Capt Williamson
M ^r Lee	M ^r Campbell	M ^r Hannaway
Capt. Tew	M ^r Walker	Silas Smith
M ^r Wilcox	M ^r Rice	Capt Greenall
M ^r Hickes	M ^r Goss	M ^r Cleaveland
M ^r Hayward	Capt Smith	M ^r Foster
M ^r G. Smith	M ^r Newcomb	M ^r dismore
Doctor Perkins	George Smith Ju	M ^r Wetherol
M ^r Harding	Capt Sues	M ^r Drewry
Capt Meridith	Doctor Alline	M ^r Meserva
Capt Maculler	M ^r Covel	M ^r Terpin
	M ^r Hines	



CAPTAIN JOHN H. EAGLESTON
1803 - 1884

From a portrait in possession of the Peabody Museum.

MEMOIRS OF A YANKEE SHIPMASTER.

BY RICHARD PRICE NORTHEY.

Of all historic New England characters none were more daring and adventurous than those intrepid Yankee shipmasters who sailed the South Seas to China and beyond in quest of Oriental trade. Their Yankee courage, ingenuity and shrewdness made New England foremost in wealth and commercial activity for nearly two centuries. One of the most active and interesting of these men was John Eagleston. Born in Baltimore, he was sent at an early age to Holmes' Hole, in Martha's Vineyard as a ward of one Captain Luce. Here John was employed on a farm and subjected to cruel abuse by his master and soon he determined to escape at the first opportunity. A short while afterwards he took advantage of a chance to work his way to Salem aboard the brig *Mercator*. Arriving there penniless he applied for work as a stevedore, and thus his career started. Within a year he had crossed the Atlantic twice, within two years he was weighing pepper in Java, fighting with the Maoris and distinguishing himself as a leader of men. In 1825 he became master of his own ship. Five years later he was sailing to those islands of the Pacific where no white man had ever been seen, to open trade with the savage natives there. In later life he returned to Salem and became prominent in journalism and business.

The quotations which follow are taken from a sort of autobiography¹ of Captain Eagleston which he called "My Ups and Downs Through Life." This document covers certain parts of his life in great detail, and is composed of four parts, each of which is at least two hundred type-written pages when copied from the original.

The following voyages are described in great detail in Captain Eagleston's writings, from which I have taken excerpts:

Date	Ship	From	To
1828	Derby	Batavia	Antwerp
1828-9	"	Antwerp	Manila
1829-30	"	Salem	Valparaiso and Return

¹ Original in possession of the Essex Institute.

1830-2	Peru	New York	Manila and Pacific Isles
1832-3	"	Lintin	Manila
1833-6	Emerald	Salem	Pacific Islands
1836	"	Manila	Salem
1836-7	Mermaid	Salem	Pacific Islands

Very early in his career Eagleston became keenly conscious of the dangers which may befall sailors in their many travels. Consequently we find the following passage in his diary written just after he sailed on his first voyage on the ship *Eliza* to the South Seas: "I felt that I must gain the good-will of my superiors by strict attention to my duty, the prompt obeying of all calls and the executing of the same with a cheerfulness that would show no inclination of soldiering, which is at all times the black spot in a sailor's blue. To succeed in all my course pointed to, it became necessary for me to take another firm stand, which was to treat everyone as I wished to have them treat me, and at all times to resist any attempt to browbeat me on the part of my shipmates, should any of those be so unmanful as to do so."

That John Eagleston consistently followed such a philosophy there is ample evidence. About a year later he was employed in weighing pepper in Penang on the coast of Java. Of this business he says: "When pepper was plenty and weighing quickly I kept in close position with the scales with my right to the bags, when these were on, with my hand on the scale rope, I worked them to best advantage frequently getting my foot under the edge of the scale or knee under a corner of the bag to steady an even beam. These actions were not committed with the intention of cheating, but to offset the cheating constantly imposed on us by the Malays. My great desire was to please Captain Phillips in preference to the Malays, and if living will leave him to say how I have succeeded in doing so." A short time later, in Antwerp when the voyage had been completed, Captain Phillips called Eagleston before him to pay him for his work. Pointing to two piles of money on the table, he said: "This pile is your wages, and this pile (\$18.) is a present for good weight of pepper."

Eagleston remained in Antwerp for only a few days and was ordered to Batavia in Java to trade in sugar. Soon after the start of this voyage another incident occurred which showed his devotion to his superiors. On June, 1823, his diary reads: "Reaching Lugottas Bank in a calm Mr. Johnson caught a fine fish weighing about 4 lbs.; getting him well up, the hook gave way, but becoming poke-blown he rose to the surface, and could not go below for more than a few seconds at a time, and in his wild flurries making from the ship. My watch below P. M. Captain P. walking the deck, sorrowing the loss of so beautiful a fish said 'For God's sake one of you come up here and try to get that fish. If you do not some of us will feel the toe of the old man's shoe.' Going on deck and taking a survey of Captain P's wishes some distance off, Cloutman thought if he had a piece of board he could get him and started to find a piece. Not liking to be outdone I was over the side, and in chase of my prize: coming up to him I made a grab for his tail, but making a jump he cleared my hand & for a few moments was out of sight. Rising again a few feet from me, I pulled up and treading water, I took him again with both hands near the head and secured him. Biting off the fine edge of his tail I set my teeth firmly in it and paddled for the ship where I safely turned him over to the Steward and for the act I got much credit."

"Day watch, my helm from 6 to 8 Capt. P. walking the deck made a stop and said: 'That fish made a most delicious chowder, don't you think so?' 'I don't know, Sir.' 'Why, did you not have any?' 'No Sir.' 'You did not! I told the steward to give you some, but d—his eyes, he liked it too well himself.'"

In a very short time Eagleston demonstrated his ability as a seaman, and won the admiration and respect of his superiors, so that in March, 1828, he was made master of the *Derby*, although curiously enough, he himself objected to this procedure. In connection with this incident Captain Eagleston expresses himself as follows: "Capt. P., receiving orders to return to the East Indies,

and not wishing to go himself, told me I must take the bark and perform the voyage. To this I strongly objected, and gave him several reasons for my doing so. Up to this time I can truly say I had not thought of a higher position than the one I held. This I was proud of and perfectly satisfied with. The points I set out for, being reached, the height of my ambition at this time was to give satisfaction to my superiors. Could I do this my highest aim was gained. To all my objections Capt. P. was opposed, and I finally had to submit to his request, and say I would take her and do the best I could."

Soon after this another incident occurred which showed the Yankee conservatism which was one of Eagleston's main characteristics. Soon after he writes as follows: "Shipping my crew for this voyage I had insisted on the Articles that no grog was to be allowed on the ship, or to be brought on board at any of the ports we might visit. Though strong objections were made by some to signing, under these restrictions, I was determined to carry the point, and in no way allow myself to be bound to give them what they were so anxious to retain, but at any time if in heavy weather, or on any other occasion I was disposed to give them a glass I would do so. Further than this on no consideration would I place myself under any obligations to keep up the old and troublesome custom, and it was on these conditions they finally shipped."

"On my first taking charge of the ship in Antwerp a pipe of gin was put on board for the crew. It being a general custom on board of our ships to allow each man a glass of grog at sea, as also three glasses a day in port; not approving of this course from my experience in the forecaskle I det. to cut this uncalled for and unnecessary usage off, allowing them a drink only when I thought it was needed. To this change long faces were shown but not the first complaint was ever made, and on my arrival in Manila, I sold the cask and never had cause to regret that I did so."

On his first voyage to the Cannibal Islands Eagleston landed at one of the westernmost islands of the Fiji

group. It was at once apparent that most of the natives had never set eyes on a white man. The following, written by Capt. Eagleston is quite amusing: "Entering the Am. Bouery, a crowd collected around me to view my rig and to see if we are the same make as themselves. They first commenced feeling of my hands, arms and shoulders, but finding the feet and legs covered with leather, a light pair of boots excited their curiosity very much, and expressing great astonishment with a desire to see so curious a leg, to please them I took one off, but my sock became the next great wonder, they wished it removed; I also gratified them in this. The two were closely examined as was also my foot and leg which drew from them wild exclamations. They found we only differed in colors, but not satisfied with what they had seen, they became very anxious for me to take off my pants to see if we were alike in other parts; in this I declined to humor them. They insisted to have it so. I saw at once I must be decided and by signs gave the chiefs to understand it could not be done while I lived. Seeing I was determined, they troubled me no more, & leaving them as friendly as before, I took my departure to the ship."

There is an ancient Fijian wig left to the East India Museum by Capt. Eagleston which has the most thrilling tale behind it. It seems the incident occurred on Eagleston's fourth voyage to the Cannibal Islands in 1838 when he was master of the brig *Mermaid*. At this time his diary reads as follows: "While at Rah, Feb. 15, 1838 I made prisoner one of the crew who massacred the officers of the Manila Brig mentioned in a former voyage, and giving him a white pine bed to Manila, turned him over to the govt. who furnished him close prison quarters with the one I trapped at Rarer.

"My object was sly as a fox. Although often alongside he would not venture on board but hung on the rail, and held a chat or disposed of what he might have to sell. On all occasions I treated him most friendly, and to a fine Manila cigar. Following this up for some days he began to show more and more boldness & on his last call

brought off 2 fine head of turtle shell, for which he wanted whale's teeth. As the shell was extra I must pick out four of the finest which hove him off his guard & wishing to see the pile and select for himself, he jumped on deck and followed me to the cabin.

"My 2 officers having previously had their orders, soon followed & put him in double irons, while I returned to the deck to look after his half dozen natives who were squatting on deck. Informing them of his confinement, they showed fright, but a few pleasant words soon pacified them and they expressed themselves glad that I was going to take him from the islands as he was a very bad man & his gun was loaded to shoot me at the first opportunity. I had it passed on board and drawing the charge found 8 slugs or 2 balls that had been cut in quarters. Had I received them as ballast they would have been quite sufficient for the purpose intended.

"He was quartered on the half deck aft, where the carpenter occupied a bunk. The latter, coming on deck at the morning call, somewhat excited, reported a spare head beside the prisoner. Going below I found the head had disappeared & at once suspecting the devil wore a wig, I gave it a kick and sent it flying across the deck, leaving him with his hair drawn up and tied in a knot on his head. The frame of the wig was light basket work and well filled with Fijii hair & dressed as in life. It being the first I ever saw of the kind, I called it mine & it is to be seen in the East India Museum."

Because of his remarkable knowledge of the uncharted waters of the Pacific, Captain Eagleston was an invaluable aid to Commodore Wilkes' Expedition. In 1841 when Wilkes came to the Fijii group, Eagleston escorted the *Peacock* into the main harbors of the islands. For these efforts he won the unstinted praise of the United States government.

In *U. S. Exploring Expeditions*, Volume 3, which is a record of the Wilkes' Expedition, there is ample evidence of the friendship existing between Eagleston and Wilkes. While in the Fijiiis, Wilkes became interested in the biche-

de-mer trade. (The biche-de-mer is a small fish living in the coral reefs of the Pacific for which there is a large market in the Orient.) Since this fish comprised a large part of Eagleston's cargo, Wilkes obtained much information about the fish from the Captain. On page 222 of the above volume there appears the following: "In order to show the profits which arise from the trade in biche-de-mer I give the costs and returns of 5 cargoes obtained by Capt. Eagleston in the Fiji group." These he obligingly favored me with.

	Piculs	Cost of Outfit	Sales
First Voyage	617	1101	8021
Second "	700	1200	17,500
Third "	1080	3396	15,120
Fourth "	840	1200	12,600
Fifth "	1200	3500	27,000
Tortoise Shell		5700	29,050

The method of trade with the Fijis was quite unique and is sketchily described by Captain Eagleston as follows (Log of the brig *Mermaid*): "On landing I was conducted by the King and his high official followed by a great crowd of natives to the American Bouery, which was large and spacious; all sitting down on mats that covered the floor, myself near the King with a space in front, and in a few words from his official speaker, received a savage welcome, when Mr. King, taking a fine whale's tooth I had given him for the occasion, placed it on the mat and stated my business among them. It was received by the speaker who made quite a speech, bidding us welcome to the island & hoped we would be successful in obtaining a full load of the articles wanted as also that had been saved from the brig and hoped we would bring them plenty of muskets, powder, lead etc. At the end of these sayings Vinacka! Vinacka! was repeated, followed by their usual slapping of hands and thighs. The drinking of Angora closed the sitting."

One of the prime reasons for Eagleston's success in the Pacific islands trade was his care in winning the friendship of the natives. Thus such ceremonies as described

above occurred quite often in order to assure the safety of Eagleston's men. Many captains and crews were savagely murdered by the Fijians, principally because of their lack of technique in opening trade relations with the islanders.

Among the enemies of the South Sea Island traders none was more persistent than the weather. While on the brig *Mermaid* Captain Eagleston wrote the following: "At six P. M. I passed below to take a cup of tea, but before I could do so the ship was struck by a typhoon. I was on deck in an instant, but not before she was on her beam ends with the starboard quarter boat under water. She was cut away and by the mighty blast we were deprived of all canvass, the fore top mast stay sail being taken clear from the rope. Every effort was made to swing the ship off. The weather or port quarter boat, a beautiful whale boat acting powerfully against her falling off, I had her cut away but of no use. Her position remained the same. All that was in the will and power of human energy had been done and each one secured a turn of the rope around him made fast to a belaying pin and awaited his Maker's changing the scene. All this time the wind and rain with the screeching of a steam-whistle was driving on more rain in its wild course with a velocity of some 70 miles per hour, making it impossible to obtain a weather look.

"To add to our gloomy unpleasant situation, the night covered us with a blackness of pitch which made it impossible to see the rough handling we were passing through while nothing could be heard but the wild howling of the mighty storm.

"When our main top mast came crashing down, none could tell. In this perilous position we lay some two hours. When to the great joy of all she began to pay off and soon found her bottom position.

"It being impossible to work the fore braces from the fallen mass that bound them, she rapidly swung round against four men at the wheel relieving tackles on the starboard tack hove end on her broadside. In this trying

position we passed another hour when it began to moderate and with delight we did appreciate the change.

"At daylight the scene was one of destruction and sorrowing to all hearts. But a few hours before our noble ship was in beautiful order and proudly pressing forward to the arms of our friends, but now with the wreck of a night's ill-usage lay unmanageable, and boxed around the compass and wind and sea might sweep her. Here was a snarl which would require at least a week to master.

"The scene was an unpleasant one to grapple, but to master it all we took hold with a sailor's will, and the work went on to fit the ship as best we could, and push for Singapore to repair damages."

Even at the time when Captain Eagleston sailed among the South Sea Islands there was ample evidence of New England trade in the larger ports. After the *Mermaid* had been repaired at Singapore the ship sailed homeward via the Pacific route. On the way Captain Eagleston wrote the following in his log: "At twelve midnight of the twentieth anchored in the Bay of Islands (New Zealand), found old friends on hand and a small addition of new settlers. Mr. Clendon built a fine house on Flagstaff Hill, and a large store near the beach. By his good lady I was presented apples and peaches of their growing.

"Eleven whale ships lay here refitting and picking up supplies for cruising and time out sixteen to thirty-eight months with a catch of 22,750 barrels of sperm oil.

"The *William Hamilton*, Captain Swain, carried the high line flag 30 months out with 2800 barrels and next move homewards. The next in luck was the *Newburyport*, Captain Starbuck, thirty months out with 2800 barrels, which the lowest of the unlucky ones was the *Parker*, Captain Austin, out 16 months with 1800 barrels.

"The masters of these ships were as jolly a set of hearts as were ever covered by the stars and stripes. By them dinner parties were occasionally given and a pleasant time enjoyed. My trade with them was for whale's teeth and turtle shell, payment mostly in tobacco."

There is an article written by Captain Eagleston ap-

pearing in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* in 1874, entitled "An Early California Voyage." This voyage occurred in 1848-9, and there was considerable controversy as to whether Captain Eagleston's ship, the *Mary and Ellen*, was the first to clear from Salem for California. At the time (1848) Eagleston was preparing to sail for the South Seas when he heard of the discovery of gold in California which caused an alteration of his plans.

Of the voyage Captain Eagleston says: "With short detention off the Cape and a full share of adverse winds, we arrived at San Francisco at 3 P. M. March 28, 1849. A show of the elephant was soon on board, the display of golden eggs from the pockets of land sharks, and their glowing stories of big lumps setting my boys in a high fever for the gold fields."

Soon after his arrival in San Francisco, Captain Eagleston was ordered to sell the *Mary and Ellen* to Ross, Benton and Jones for \$15,000 in gold dust. On April 17, 1849, Eagleston made a shipment of gold dust to J. W. Peele, which was the first to Salem from California.

The carefree attitude of the gold-seekers and their haphazard manner of living is quite well described by the following paragraph from Eagleston's article: "On the first of June I was pleasantly surprised by a call from Captain Perkins and Mr. Peabody, they having just arrived in the *Eliza* from Salem. On board the *Eliza* there were quite a number of passengers. Several of these remaining in San Francisco, pitched their tents in Happy Valley, where Mr. Jonathan Nichols, stored as he was with fun and song, assisted by his social and free hearted companions, made their quarters at all times inviting and pleasant. I was often with them, and under the evening's beautiful sky did the echo of good singing please the squatters that composed the little beehive villages, which dotted the valley, especially 'The Washboard on My Knee,' which was the usual windup."

Of his return to Salem, Captain Eagleston writes as follows: "My affairs squared up, I took passage with

Captain N. Batchelder of this city on board the steamer *Oregon* about the first of July for Panama, passage per head two-hundred and fifty dollars. Arriving at Panama, mules and guides were chartered for our passage across the isthmus. In the morning by canoes and boats we descended the river and arrived on board the *Crescent City*, bound for New York. Captain B. and myself reached home Sunday morning sometime in August and I believe showed the first golden lumps brought to Salem from California."

SAMUEL MCINTIRE'S BILL FOR A FIGUREHEAD.

Samuel McIntire's bill among the Pickman papers in the Essex Institute for the carving of a figurehead is the first documentary evidence that he did such carving. This was for the ship *Derby*, owned by the Pickmans, to replace one that had been destroyed in a gale.

The Owners of the Ship Derby to Sam'l McIntire, Dr.	
To an 8 ft. figurehead &c. @ 30 pr. foot	\$40:00:0
to pr. Cat faces @ 12/	2:00:0
to Journey to Boston & expenses	5:00:0
	<hr/>
	\$47:00:0

Salem 23^d July 1806

Rec'd in full pay for my father
Sam'l F. McIntire

THOMAS SAFFORD OF IPSWICH AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY WALTER GOODWIN DAVIS.

1. THOMAS SAFFORD was admitted a commoner in the town of Ipswich in 1641, which is the first recording of his name thus far found in New England.¹ Presumably he came to America at about that time, bringing with him his wife Elizabeth and their five children. He is seldom mentioned in the records and apparently led a peaceful life on his farm. He gave a day's work to the building of the East bridge in 1646, subscribed to Major Denison's salary in 1648 and was a member of the county trial jury March 31, 1657. He bought a farm of thirty-two acres from Henry Kingsbury in 1648 and doubtless had grants of other lands as his final holding was sixty acres. He received one and a half shares of Plum Island in 1664.

On February 20, 1666, Thomas Safford, husbandman, deeded to his son Joseph, for love and affection, his farm in Ipswich, containing about sixty acres of upland and fresh meadow, bounded on the northeast by Robert Wallis, southeast by the highway to Mr. Saltonstall's farm, southwest by thick woods, and northwest by the river, also the house, barn and outhousing. Joseph was to pay half of the benefit of the farm to his father annually during his life and after his death to pay his mother £6 a year for her natural life. He was also to maintain his sister Elizabeth for life "unless she thinks good otherwise to dispose of herself," whereupon he was to give her £20. He was to pay his sister Mary £5 and his sister Abigail £15 three years after his father's decease. This document was neither signed nor witnessed, but nevertheless it was presented as a will on March 26, 1667, by Joseph Safford. John Adams and Nicholas Wallis deposed on that day that they were present when Thomas Safford was on his death bed, and that he said he would have the writing

¹ The man made freeman in Boston in 1630 was Thomas *Sanford*.

stand, that he had given his daughter Killem £5 and would also give her one of his heifers, and would give his daughter Abie (Abigail) a heifer and a calf. The inventory totalled £244.² Widow Elizabeth Safford died at Ipswich March 4, 1670.

Children:

- i. MARY, m. Oct. 1648, Daniel Kilham of Wenham.
- 2 ii. JOHN.
- 3 iii. JOSEPH.
- iv. ABIGAIL, living and probably married in 1666.
- v. ELIZABETH, d. unmarried Oct. 7, 1672, in Wenham, where she lived with her sister Mary after her mother's death.

2. JOHN² SAFFORD (Thomas¹) was born in England about the year 1631 (his age was given in 1661 as about thirty), and was brought as a boy to Ipswich by his parents. He married Sarah Low, daughter of Thomas Low of Ipswich, who named her and her daughter, Sarah Safford, in his will in 1677, presumably in 1661, when on January 19 he bought from Anthony Potter a house and three acres in Ipswich on the north side of the river near the mill and bounded all about by highways. He was a blacksmith by trade and was interested in the small iron-works in Topsfield and Rowley village, being one of the owners of the latter in 1675.

In the September term of court, 1672, he sued Ensign John Gould for debt and lost the case, but in the November term his suit against Henry Leonard of the Topsfield iron-works for ten hundred-weight of bar iron was successful.

He saw service against the Indians in the Narragansett expedition during King Philip's War. He served on a jury of inquest in 1676, had common rights in Ipswich in 1678, and was a grand juror in the March term of the Essex County Court in 1680.³

² Probate Records of Essex County, II: 79-81.

³ In Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, hereafter quoted as Records and Files, V: 318, the name of John Safford's wife is given as *Ann*. This was undoubtedly an error of the clerk as his only wife was Sarah. Records and Files, I: 368; V: 84; VI: 5, 234.

On September 5, 1698, John and Sarah Safford deeded to their son Thomas their dwelling-house, barn, shop, orchard and garden, standing on four acres of land in return for his care for the remainder of their lives. Thomas was to allow his sister Sarah a room in the house so long as she remained unmarried.⁴ John Safford died before June 16, 1708, when the widow Sarah, her son Thomas and Eleanor, his wife, conveyed part of the homestead to Michael Farley, jr.⁵

Children, born in Ipswich:

- 4 i. JOHN.
 - ii. SARAH, b. July 14, 1664; d. July 21, 1712, aged 47.
 - iii. MARGARET, b. Feb. 28, 1665; no further record.
 - iv. REBECCA, b. about Aug. 30, 1667; m. Jan. 13, 1689/90, Nathan Wheeler of Rowley.⁶
 - v. MERCY, b. Feb. 26, 1668/9; no further record.
 - vi. ELIZABETH, b. Feb. 27, 1670; m. July 20, 1697, Alexander Lovell.
- 5 vii. THOMAS, b. Oct. 16, 1672.
- viii. JOSEPH, b. Mar. 12, 1674; no further record.
- ix. MEHITABLE, m. (1) May 25, 1702, John Hovey; m. (2) int. Apr. 7, 1722, Ebenezer Browne of Rowley; m. (3) int. July 24, 1733, Lieut. Jacob Perley of Boxford. Thomas Safford (vii above) deeded Hovey one-quarter of an acre out of his Ipswich house-lot in 1708.⁷

3. JOSEPH² SAFFORD (Thomas¹) was born in England about the year 1633, as his age in 1692 was stated to be fifty-nine and in 1701 sixty-nine. He was therefore about eight years old when he crossed the Atlantic. He married in Ipswich March 6, 1660, Mary Baker.

On May 13, 1667, he was in court for striking John Lighton and was bound to good behavior, his brother John being the surety on his bond.⁸ He served in King Philip's War under Capt. Nicholas Paige and on September 3, 1675, he was credited with £2 for his part in the expedi-

⁴ Essex Deeds, 32: 161.

⁵ Essex Deeds, 25: 142.

⁶ See Early Settlers of Rowley, 1933 edition, p. 404.

⁷ Essex Deeds, 27: 39.

⁸ Records and Files, III: 448.

tion to Mt. Hope. He was a member of a jury of inquest in 1676, a trial juror in the September term of the Essex County Court in 1678, a commoner of Ipswich in 1678, a freeman October 11, 1682, and a selectman in 1697. In 1699 he and eight other members of the church objected to the sale of the old meeting-house because it involved the loss of their pews, but to no avail, and in the new meeting-house he, with the comforting title of "Mr.," was given a seat.

In 1694 and 1695 a group of Ipswich men, Joseph Safford, Richard Smith, Meshach Farley, Matthew Perkins and Samuel Bishop, bought from Capt. James Fitch of Norwich in the Connecticut colony a tract of eighteen hundred acres which was later called Preston and on which three of Safford's children settled. Captain Fitch's title to this land was extremely dubious. After King Philip's War he held it as a sort of trust for a small local tribe of Indians known as the Showtuckets to whom it had been guaranteed. When Fitch transferred the title to himself there were murmurs of disapproval among the more sensitive of the Norwich settlers, but nothing was actually done to restore what seems to have been, in bald terms, stolen property and by 1694 the title was regarded as good.⁹

On May 1, 1701, Safford made a settlement of his estate with his two sons John and Samuel by deed, the sons to support their father and mother for the remainder of their lives. John received the dwelling-house, barns, yards, gardens, pasture and meadow in Ipswich, and one-half of the household furniture and movables. He also was to have one-half plus one-seventh of the dwelling, buildings and lands in the town of "Norwich in ye Com-enticut Colony." To Samuel went the lower side of the tillage land in Ipswich, the other half of the furniture and movables, and one-half minus one-seventh of the Norwich property. Houses were to be built for both sons. They were to keep their sister Mary for life if she remained unmarried, and to pay their sisters Sarah Kim-

⁹ History of Norwich, by Frances Caulkins, edition of 1866.

ball (£9:13:0), Elizabeth Brown (£8:5:0) and Hannah Safford (£20).¹⁰

Joseph Safford died August 29, 1701, in his seventieth year. His wife's death is not recorded.

Children, born in Ipswich:

- i. MARY, b. Feb. 20, 1661; unmarried in 1701.
- ii. JOSEPH, b. Aug. 11, 1664; d. before 1701.
- iii. SARAH, b. Mar. 20, 1666; in 1701 she was Sarah Kimball, probably wife of Caleb Kimball, who was born in Wenham in 1665 and had a wife Sarah, who died Feb. 20, 1731/2.
- iv. ELIZABETH, b. Aug. 3, 1670; in 1701 she was Elizabeth Brown, probably wife of John Brown, who had a wife Elizabeth by 1696 and moved to Preston.
- 6 v. JOHN.
- vi. THOMAS, d. June 1676.
- 7 vii. SAMUEL, b. July 1678.
- viii. HANNAH, b. Jan. 11, 1681; unmarried in 1701; m. in Ipswich Oct. 8, 1705, James Tyler of Preston (by Ipswich record), of Boston (by Boston record).

4. JOHN³ SAFFORD (John², Thomas¹) married Hannah Newman September 15, 1685, in Ipswich. They settled in Preston, Connecticut, with other Essex County families. His second wife, Deborah —, became his widow upon his death on March 29, 1736.

His will, dated February 5, 1735/6, proved April 2, 1736, naming his sons Joseph and Gideon executors, is unusual in its frank expression of his sense of being the founder of a landed family in the English tradition. He orders a "moniment upon my graufe . . . bultit with ston or brick and a tombston ouer it Ingrafein on it my death and age that my Children mit know how theay cum by their land that theay had a granfather that left it for them and left his boons In possession for them for ever bein the first that ever did anything upon it and setled it." To wife Deborah, £10 etc. expressed in two bonds under the hands and seals of sons Joseph and Gideon, the goods she brought with her, her choice of two good cows, a good horse to ride on, etc. All movable estate to three

¹⁰ Essex Deeds, 15: 80.

living daughters, Marcy Tracy, Elizabeth Whipyrrill and Margaret Bingham, Charity Raseboone (Rathbone), eldest daughter of daughter Hannah, and Zipporah Haskell, eldest daughter of daughter Sarah, the granddaughters to share equally with their aunts. £100 in money, bills and bonds to the children of the five daughters. To grandsons, Zebulon Parks, John Bingham (his father, Nathaniel Bingham, mentioned), Ezekiel Parks, Daniel Tracy, Gideon Haskell, Oliver Perkins. Overseers: my two cousins Thomas Tracy and Samuel Morgan. Witnesses: John Ames, John Ames jr., John Ames the third.¹¹

"The age of John Safford's children" is recorded in the town books of Preston.

Children :

- i. JOHN, b. Feb. 28, 1687/8; m. in Preston Aug. 18, 1710, Dorothy Larrabee; d. Sept. 12, 1724. Administration on his estate was granted to his father and his widow Feb. 16, 1724/5, John Ames surety. The inventory listed property valued at £316, and Dorothy Safford presented her account Feb. 9, 1725/6.¹²
Children :
 1. *Dorothy*, b. Aug. 18, 1712, at Voluntown; m. in Norwich Nov. 22, 1733, Capt. Daniel Tracy.
 2. *Hannah*, b. Nov. 24, 1714; m. Dec. 25, 1735, Benjamin Tracy.
 3. *Desire*, b. Oct. 18, 1717; m. in Norwich Feb. 25, 1735/6, Samuel Gore.
 4. *Esther*, b. Apr. 15, 1720; m. Andrew Stevens.
 5. *Sarah*, b. Sept. 4, 1721.
 6. *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 4 (sic), 1724; m. in Norwich July 4, 1744, Timothy Whipple of Groton.
- ii. HANNAH, b. Sept. 24, 1691; m. in Preston Aug. 14, 1710, Ebenezer Perkins.
- iii. SARAH, b. Dec. 25, 1694; m. in Norwich Dec. 1, 1720, Roger Haskell.
- iv. MARCY, b. Mar. 3, 1697; m. in Preston (1) Sept. 20, 1716, Ezekiel Parke, and (2) Apr. 15, 1728, Jedediah Tracy.
- v. ELIZABETH, b. Jan. 24, 1700; m. — Whippyrrill (Whipple) before 1735/6.

¹¹ New London Probate Files, No. 4666.

¹² New London Probate Files, No. 4665.

- vi. MARGARET, b. Apr. 24, 1703; m. Nathaniel Bingham by 1725.
- vii. JOSEPH, b. Jan. 18, 1705; m. (1) in Preston Dec. 20, 1727, Patience Yeomans, who d. Mar. 3, 1743, aged 45; m. (2) Jan. 11, 1749, Martha Cotes at North Stonington.
 - Children, born in Preston:
 - 1. *John*, b. Mar. 31, 1729; m. Mar. 15, 1759, Mary Johnson.
 - 2. *Joseph*, b. Feb. 8, 1730/1; m. Apr. 25, 1753, Lydia Ensworth of Canterbury.
 - 3. *Hannah*, b. Nov. 26, 1732; m. May 23, 1754, James Rix.
 - 4. *Sarah*, b. Mar. 3, 1734.
 - 5. *Lucretia*, b. May 1, 1737; m. Oct. 10, 1771, Dea. Thomas Miner.
 - 6. *Jonathan*, b. Sept. 21, 1738; m. Nov. 21, 1759, Susanna Brooks at Windsor.
 - 7. *David*, b. Sept. 21 (sic), 1740; m. Nov. 17, 1762, Mary Choate.
- viii. GIDEON, b. Mar. 24, 1709; m. Jan. 13, 1731/2, Elizabeth Hill, who d. June 6, 1805, aged 94; he d. at Preston Mar. 20, 1780, aged 73.
 - Children, born in Preston:
 - 1. *Mary*, b. Sept. 1, 1732; m. Mar. 5, 1752, Matthias Button.
 - 2. *Thomas*, b. Oct. 15, 1735; m. Oct. 25, 1764, Phebe Kimball of Stonington.
 - 3. *Elizabeth*, b. Sept. 17, 1737.
 - 4. *Thankful*, b. Oct. 15, 1739.
 - 5. *Amy*, b. Jan. 25, 1742.
 - 6. *Lucy*, b. Apr. 3, 1744; m. June 19, 1765, Preserved Brumley.
 - 7. *Priscilla* (possibly); m. Apr. 10, 1769, Jonathan Boardman.
 - 8. *Samuel*, b. Jan. 2, 1748; m. Anna —; d. in 1824 at Salem, N. Y.
 - 9. *Peggy*, b. May 10, 1750.
 - 10. *Anne*, b. July 12, 1752; m. Uriah Beeman Nov. 12, 1771.
 - 11. *Gideon*, b. Nov. 4, 1754; m. Nov. 10, 1774, Lucy Freeman.

5. THOMAS³ SAFFORD (John², Thomas¹) was born in Ipswich October 16, 1672. He married, first, Eleanor (Cheney) Shatswell, a young widow, October 7, 1698. She died December 22, 1724. He married, second, June 29, 1725, Sarah Scott of Rowley. He died April 30, 1754.

Sometime before his death he had turned over the man-

agement of his farm and estate to his son Daniel. His will, of Ipswich, yeoman, left to his wife Sarah the income of the estate as then paid over to him by Daniel, the household goods and what property she brought with her. To son Thomas, he to pay his brother James £3, three acres of salt marsh, which is his double share in full. To son James, the above £3. To sons Joseph and John, a milled dollar apiece. To son Stephen, two lots of land on the northwesterly side of my father's homestead between his brother John's and George Newman's lands. To grandchildren Mary and Thomas, children of deceased son Nathan, six sheep and all household goods. To grandson Daniel Safford, military armor, sword and girdle, duroy coat, camblet jacket, best hat, blue cloth breeches, iron-bound chest, etc. Executor: son Daniel. Witnesses: John Kimball, Aaron Lord, Nathan Foster. The document was dated August 11, 1753, and was proved May 27, 1754.¹³

The will of Sarah Safford of Ipswich, widow, was signed February 26, 1761, and probated May 31, 1762. Beside remembering many of her Scott relations, she left land to her step-son Daniel Safford, a feather-bed to her grandson Daniel Safford, to granddaughter Mary Safford a crepe gown and two plain boxes, to granddaughter Hannah Safford a table. To granddaughter Mary Caldwell, wife of Benjamin Caldwell, bedding, wearing apparel, linen, a pewter dish, a sugar box, etc. To Martha Safford, wife of grandson Abraham, a pewter dish. Residue to daughter-in-law Elizabeth Safford, wife of Daniel Safford. Witnesses: John Hodgkins, Joseph Hodgkins, Nathan Foster.¹⁴

Children, born in Ipswich:

- i. SARAH, b. Mar. 29, 1701; d. July 10, 1702.
- 8 ii. THOMAS, b. Apr. 28, 1703.
- 9 iii. JOSEPH, b. Mar., 1704/5.
- 10 iv. DANIEL, b. 1706.
- 11 v. JOHN.
- vi. MERCY (possibly), m. Nathaniel Howard of Newbury

¹³ Essex Probate, 332: 241.

¹⁴ Essex Probate, No. 24,508.

- Jan. 15, 1736; he m. (2) Martha Safford Jan. 8, 1757.
- 12 vii. NATHAN, bapt. Mar. 16, 1712.
- 13 viii. JAMES, bapt. June 27, 1714.
- 14 ix. STEPHEN, bapt. Feb. 10, 1716.
- x. TITUS, bapt. Feb. 24, 1722/3; d. Apr. 11, 1729.

6. JOHN³ SAFFORD (Joseph², Thomas¹) married in Ipswich July 11, 1702, Abigail Martin. He had already been an inhabitant of Norwich, Connecticut, in 1698, but the agreement between his father, himself and his brother Samuel in 1701 would seem to indicate that he was in Ipswich that year and contemplating continuing to live there. It was possibly after his father's death that he went to Norwich permanently as he had a child baptized in Ipswich in 1718.

Mr. John Safford died August 12, 1739, and Mrs. Abigail Safford March 20, 1768, aged ninety-three.

The will of John Safford of Newent in Norwich, husbandman, dated February 24, 1737/8, was proved August 17, 1739. It made detailed and comfortable provision for his wife Abigail. In lieu of dower she received all in-door movables (his clothing excepted), the east end of his dwelling with the back room and cellar as long as she cared to use it and a garden spot near the house to be fenced by their son Solomon. The sons Joseph and John were to "provide in Each of their houses . . . a Convenient Room for her and her nurse, that my Wife may Dwell with Either of them As she pleaseth" and a garden spot near their dwellings. The three sons were to keep for her use three good milch cows and a good horse and were to pay to her annually 100 lb. of beef, 30 bu. of Indian corn, 9 bu. of winter wheat, 3 bu. of rye, 3 barrels of cider, 6 bu. of winter apples, 6 bu. of ground barley malt, 30 lb. of flax, 18 lb. of merchantable wool, firewood, medicine and cordials in sickness and 20 s. in money apiece if she should find it needful. They were also to supply a good nurse, "such an one as she shall chuse from year to year," and pay her wages. To daughter Abigail Porter £15 and to daughter Sarah Safford £100. The sons Joseph, John and Solomon were each to have one-third of the out-door movables and clothing, and

certain specified lands. Witnesses: Jacob Reed, Jacob Reed jr., Eunice Hall. The lands and buildings were valued at £2500.¹⁵

Children:

- i. JOSEPH, m. in Norwich Nov. 5, 1729, Anne Longbottom. They settled by 1761 in Bennington, Vt., where he was deacon of the Separate Church. He d. June 25, 1775, and his widow d. Nov. 28, 1780. His sons were very active in the Revolution, both as "Green Mountain Boys" and in the regular Continental forces.¹⁶ Children, born in Norwich:
 1. *Anne*, b. Dec. 11, 1730; m. Dec. 25, 1750, Henry Walbridge.
 2. *Samuel*, b. Nov. 1, 1732; d. Dec. 15, 1735.
 3. *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 21, 1734; m. at Bennington June 25, 1759, Cornelius Cady.
 4. *Samuel*, b. Dec. 15, 1735; d. in infancy.
 5. *Gen. Samuel*, b. Apr. 27, 1737, m. Sept. 25, 1760, Mary Lawrence. He had a long and distinguished military, legal and civil career, being Brig. General of Militia in 1781, Councillor 1783-1802, and Chief Justice of the Bennington County Court 1782-1807.
 6. *Abigail*, b. Aug. 14, 1739; m. Jonathan Scott.
 7. *Col. Joseph*, b. Dec. 1, 1741; m. July 30, 1766, Marcy Robinson.
 8. *Col. David*, b. Feb. 8, 1743/4; m. Sept. 10, 1772, Anna Brewster.
 9. *Hannah*, b. Mar. 2, 1745/6; m. Oct. 18, 1764, Capt. John Fassett.
 10. *Lucy*, b. June 2, 1748; m. Samuel Montague.
 11. *Esther*, b. Sept. 15, 1750; m. Apr. 6, 1767, Col. Samuel Robinson.
 12. *Jacob*, b. Nov. 26, 1752; m. (1) June 6, 1778, Persis Robinson; m. (2) Feb. 10, 1828, Elizabeth Thurston.
 13. *Solomon*, b. Feb. 19, 1755; m. Submit (Brewer) Tupper.
- ii. JOHN, bapt. Sept. 16, 1711, in Ipswich; m. (1) in Norwich Feb. 20, 1738/9, Lydia Hebard; m. (2) Aug. 13, 1760, Mary (Hebard) Lawrence; d. Dec. 13, 1789. Children, born in Norwich:
 1. *John*, b. Aug. 3, 1738; m. Sarah Plumbe Dec. 23, 1762.
 2. *Josiah*, b. Feb. 21, 1740/1; m. Deborah Sprague Oct. 28, 1762; m. (2) Polly Leffingwell of Pawling, Vt., Jan. 6, 1796.
 3. *Lydia*, b. Dec. 24, 1743.
 4. *Jedediah*, b. May 7, 1746.

¹⁵ New London Probate Files, No. 4667.

¹⁶ See History of Bennington.

5. *Elisha*, b. Mar. 27, 1748; m. *Sylvina* —; d. in Windsor, Mass., 1788.
6. *Zerviah*, b. Feb. 8, 1750/1; d. Dec. 25, 1752.
7. *Sabra*, b. Apr. 13, 1752; m. David Fassett Jan. 22, 1778.
8. *Silas*, b. Sept. 7, 1755; m. Clarinda Hawley of Arlington, Vt., Dec. 25, 1780.
- iii. SOLOMON, bapt. May 29, 1715, in Ipswich; m. Jan. 19, 1743/4, Rosina Cady of Pomfret; he d. in 1795; she d. Dec. 22, 1800.
- iv. SARAH, bapt. Aug. 11, 1718, in Ipswich; unmarried in 1737/8.
- v. ABIGAIL, m. at Norwich Nov. 29, 1725, Experience Porter of Mansfield.

7. SAMUEL³ SAFFORD (Joseph², Thomas¹) was born in Ipswich in July, 1678. His first wife, Elizabeth —, whom he married about 1704, possibly died at the birth of her only child in 1705. He married Hannah — in the following year.

Administration on the estate of Samuel Safford, late of Ipswich, was granted to his son Nathaniel April 6, 1753. His dwelling, two barns and seventy acres of land were valued at £466 in the inventory, totalling £525, which was filed May 1, 1753.¹⁷ In the settlement, February 18, 1755, after setting off the widow's dower, the estate was settled on his eldest son Nathaniel who was to give bond to pay his brother Benjamin £30, his sister Elizabeth £30, and the heirs of his sister Hannah £13:6:4.¹⁸

Children, recorded in Ipswich:

By first wife:

- i. ELIZABETH, bapt. Dec. 16, 1705; living in 1755.

By second wife:

- ii. HANNAH, b. July 26, 1707; m. Apr. 10, 1734, John Davidson.
- iii. SAMUEL, b. Sept. 27, 1709.
- iv. NATHANIEL, b. July 8, 1711; m. Apr. 9, 1741, Margaret Holmes. He lived in Hamilton, where he d. Aug. 12, 1795, aged 85, of senile weakness. Widow Margaret d. June 24, 1805, aged 85. His will, yeoman,

¹⁷ Essex Probate, 331: 255.

¹⁸ Essex Probate, No. 24505.

was dated Feb. 22 1790, and was probated Sept. 7, 1795. To his wife he left one-third of his real and personal estate and all the house furniture. To son John, £115 in silver money. To son Samuel, the real and personal estate after his mother's death. To daughters Hannah Dodge, Lucy Patch and Lydia Dodge, £2 each. To daughter Margaret Brown, £8:14:8. To daughter Elizabeth Potter, £10. To grandson Nathaniel Patch, £3. His son Samuel was named executor.¹⁹

Children:

1. *Hannah*, m. Parker Dodge, int. Apr. 19, 1765.
2. *Lucy*, m. John Patch 5th, Jan. 19, 1773.
3. *Lydia*, m. Nehemiah Dodge Nov. 11, 1773.
4. *Elizabeth*, m. William Potter May 11, 1780.
5. *Margaret*, m. Stephen Brown 4th, July 17, 1780.
6. *John*, b. Oct. 5, 1750; m. Dec. 30, 1784, Martha Whipple; d. Oct. 17, 1820. He was a representative in the General Courts of 1809, 1810, 1815. They had children: John (m. Feb. 27, 1817, at Dunbarton, N. H., Nancy Stimson), Nathaniel (m. Nov. 2, 1810, Martha Fisk Dodge at Hamilton) and Martha (m. Nov. 3, 1812, Capt. Tracy Patch), born 1785-1792.
7. *Samuel*, b. July 25, 1755; m. April 8, 1783, Priscilla Goodhue; d. June 28, 1815. They had sons: Samuel (m. at Ipswich Nov. 21, 1811, Joanna Appleton), David (m. at Salem June 11, 1809, Dorothy Bott), Ephraim (m. Dec. 29, 1822, Sarah Roberts) and Daniel (m. May 11, 1817, Sarah Ashton), born 1784-1792.
- v. **DAVID**, bapt. Feb. 27, 1714; m. in Grafton May 1, 1740, Mary Bartlett, who m., second, Richard Bartlett of Sutton in Grafton Nov. 18, 1744.
- vi. **BENJAMIN**, bapt. Aug. 3, 1718. He had settled in New Ipswich, N. H., before Oct. 9, 1754, when he m. Prudence Melvin of Carlisle at Concord.

Children, born at New Ipswich:

1. *Hannah*, b. Oct. 31, 1755; m. April 3, 1806, Abijah Spofford.
2. *Lydia*, b. April 28, 1757.
3. *Betsey*, b. Jan. 31, 1759; m. David Severance.
4. *Lucy*, b. Sept. 22, 1760.
5. *Prudence*, b. Jan. 9, 1763; m. Zebedee Whittemore Dec. 11, 1783.
6. *Benjamin*, b. Dec. 21, 1764; m. (1) at Concord Oct. 14, 1788, Hannah Wheeler; m. (2) Lydia Chandler.
7. *Reuben*, b. Oct. 28, 1767; m. Sarah Philbrick, who d. Oct. 31, 1854; he d. Dec. 25, 1853, at New Ipswich, N. H.

¹⁹ Essex Probate, No. 24504.

8. THOMAS⁴ SAFFORD (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) was married four times. He married, first, int. April 1, 1727, Sarah Dresser, who died June 29, 1736. He took as his second wife, July 7, 1737, Elizabeth Ayers of Newbury, who died August 28, 1747. She was followed, int. December 3, 1747, by widow Margaret Stacy, who died January 1, 1764. Finally he married at Gloucester June 5, 1764, widow Eunice Whorf.

The will of Thomas Safford, yeoman, of Ipswich, was made September 23, 1775, and proved May 6, 1776. To his wife Eunice, during her widowhood, he left his house, one-half of his land, all his household goods and his negro man Prince. His wearing apparel was to be divided between his sons Benjamin, Joshua, Thomas, Moses and Simeon. Benjamin and Joshua (if living) got small sums of money, and Thomas and Moses marsh lands. His daughter Sarah Howlett was left six shillings.²⁰

Children by first wife, recorded in Ipswich:

- i. SARAH, bapt. July 26, 1728; d. July 31, 1736.
- ii. THOMAS, bapt. Aug. 1, 1731; d. July 15, 1736.
- iii. BENJAMIN, bapt. Dec. 1, 1734. His father was appointed his guardian Nov. 21, 1752. After serving in the French and Indian War, he settled in Exeter. He m. (1) Shuah Lougee, and (2) Susanna Meloon, who d. Jan. 28, 1798, aged 59. He d. Nov. 29, 1827, aged 93.

Children, born in Exeter:

1. *Benjamin*, b. Mar. 26, 1758; m. at Hampton Falls Apr. 22, 1786, Judith Vicary.
2. *Joseph*, bapt. July 10, 1763; m. Elizabeth Towle at Hampton, int. Oct. 29, 1791; d. Dec. 28, 1832; she d. Jan. 22, 1849, aged 76.
3. *Susan*, bapt. Feb. 20, 1765; d. Dec. 6, 1843, unmarried.
4. *Nathaniel*, b. Aug. 4, 1767; d. Oct. 29, 1770.
5. *John*, b. Mar. 24, 1769; d. unmarried in 1850 at Monmouth, Me.
6. *Anna*, b. Mar. 7, 1772; d. Dec. 15, 1848, unmarried.
7. *Nathaniel*, b. Oct. 29, 1773; m. Elizabeth Evans; lived in Boston.
8. *Dudley*, b. Nov. 15, 1776; m. Elizabeth Gilman, who d. Mar. 26, 1815, aged 85; he d. July 18, 1822.
9. *William*, b. Apr. 17, 1778; m. at Newmarket Oct. 25, 1803, Sarah Brazier Colcord, who d. Dec. 19, 1867, aged 85; he d. Sept. 8, 1839.

²⁰ Essex Probate, 351: 562.

10. *Samuel*, b. Aug. 16, 1782; m. Mar. 26, 1807, Mary Hobbs of Topsfield, who d. Apr. 24, 1874, aged 88; he d. July 29, 1857, at Newburyport.

By second wife:

- iv. THOMAS, bapt. June 4, 1738; m. (1) in Salem Apr. 27, 1764, Elizabeth Phelps; m. (2) in Salem Nov. 22, 1785, widow Sarah Lasser. He died in Salem in 1788, aged 50.²¹ His will, of Salem, cordwainer, left one-half of his real estate and all of his personal property to his wife Sarah, and divided the residue equally between his children Emma, Thomas, Jude, Hannah, Sarah, Rachel and Joshua. It was dated Feb. 1 and proved Apr. 9, 1788.²² The widow m. Ephraim Abbott of Andover, int. Aug. 20, 1789.
- Children, born in Salem:
1. *Elizabeth*, b. Feb. 18, 1765; not in her father's will.
 2. *Emma*, b. Dec. 15, 1766; m. Ebed Lewis Sept. 30, 1784.
 3. *Judith*, b. Mar. 9, 1770; unmarried in 1798.
 4. *Hannah*, b. Feb. 4, 1774; m. Josiah Dodge, int. Nov. 1, 1794.
 5. *Sarah*, b. Mar. 20, 1775; m., int. May 7, 1803, William Randall.
 6. *Thomas*, b. Sept. 26, 1776; he bought out the interest of three of his sisters in their father's homestead in 1798.²³
 7. *Rachel*, b. Oct. 10, 1777; m. Andrew Morgan Dec. 22, 1796.
 8. *Joshua*, b. Sept. 7, 1779; m. Dorothy Foy Oct. 15, 1801.
 9. *John*, b. Nov. 1, 1781; not in his father's will.
 10. *Mary*, b. Aug. 11, 1783; not in her father's will.
- v. JOSHUA, bapt. Aug. 26, 1739; his whereabouts, if living, unknown in 1775.
- vi. SARAH, bapt. May 3, 1741; m. Samuel Howlett of Topsfield, int. Nov. 17, 1759.
- vii. SIMEON, bapt. July 1, 1744; m. Deborah Harris, int. Oct. 1, 1768; d. Oct. 15, 1828, aged 84; she d. July 28, 1830, aged 83. A blacksmith in his native town.
- Children, born in Ipswich:
1. *Deborah*, bapt. June 17, 1770; m. Nov. 7, 1793, Moses Graves.
 2. *Hannah*, b. Sept. 7, 1772; m. May 10, 1794, Capt. Daniel Lord.

²¹ Newspaper of Mar. 4, 1788.

²² Essex Probate, 359: 371.

²³ Essex Deeds, 163: 258.

3. *Mary*, bapt. Feb. 28, 1774; m. Apr. 25, 1779, John Jefts.
 4. *John*, b. Aug. 10, 1775.
 5. *Elizabeth*, bapt. June 7, 1778; m. Sept. 21, 1798, William Seward.
 6. *Sarah*, b. Dec. 12, 1781; d. unmarried Oct. 21, 1873, at Malden.
 7. *Susanna*, bapt. Nov. 21, 1784; possibly the child who d. Sept. 18, 1785.
 8. *Joseph*, b. July 10, 1787.
 9. *Ephraim*, bapt. Apr. 18, 1790; d. Sept. 13, 1861, at Malden
- viii. MOSES, bapt. July 20, 1746; m. (1) July 23, 1768, Mary Hood of Topsfield, who d. June 30, 1776, at York; m. (2) May 3, 1777, Mary Sargent of York, who d. Mar. 1, 1832, aged 88. He settled in York, where he d. in 1820. His will, made Nov. 23, 1818, was proved Aug. 14, 1820.
- Children, by first wife:
1. *John*, b. Sept. 19, 1769.
 2. *Moses*, b. Mar. 9, 1771; m. Sarah Mitchell.
 3. *Jeremiah*, b. May 20, 1772.
 4. *Israel Putnam*, b. Aug. 14, 1775.
- By second wife:
5. *Thomas*, b. Apr. 5, 1778.
 6. *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 12, 1780.

9. JOSEPH⁴ SAFFORD (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) was born in Ipswich in March 1704/5. He married Mary Chase July 30, 1728. He was a joiner by trade. Between 1736 and 1739 he moved his family to Sutton where he remained several years before settling finally in Hardwick, where he was living by 1751. Either he or his son Joseph taught the Hardwick school in 1753. After his death his son Joseph took his mother to his home in Woodstock, Vt.

Children, the first six baptized in Ipswich:

- i. ELEANOR, bapt. in Ipswich June 27, 1729; d. Dec. 13, 1730.
- ii. JOSEPH, bapt. Oct. 25, 1730; m. in Hardwick Oct. 26, 1753, Martha Powers, who d. in Woodstock, Vt., Mar. 31, 1804, aged 73; he d. in Woodstock Jan 19, 1798. He was a housewright and with Joseph Allen built the Hardwick meeting-house at their own risk in 1771. Commissioned lieutenant in Capt. Daniel

Wheeler's company of militia in 1771, member of the Hardwick Committee of Correspondence, 1774-1775.

Children, born in Hardwick:

1. *Jesse*, b. Feb. 9, 1755.
 2. *Eleanor*, b. Oct. 23, 1757.
 3. *Martha*, b. June 11, 1759.
 4. *Joseph*, b. June 22, 1760.
 5. *Mary*, b. Apr. 4, 1763.
 6. *Challis*, b. Feb. 6, 1765.
 7. *Lucinda*, b. Jan. 8, 1771; d. Feb. 8, 1773.
- iii. ANNA, bapt. Nov. 28, 1731; m. in Hardwick Nov. 25, 1756, Israel Olmstead.
- iv. CHALLIS, bapt. Sept. 9, 1733; m. (1) in Hardwick July 10, 1755, Rebecca Winslow; m. (2) Feb. 8, 1760, Lydia Warner. He was a physician and served in the French War in Col. Ruggles' regiment as surgeon in 1757 and as surgeon's mate in 1759. Dr. Safford d. before June 21, 1771, when an inventory of his estate was entered. Mrs. Safford m., second, Dr. Jonas Fay of Bennington, Vt., Nov. 20, 1777.

Children, by first wife, born in Hardwick:

1. *Elizabeth*, b. Dec. 7, 1755.
 2. *Anna*, b. Aug. 27, 1757; d. Apr. 7, 1759.
- By second wife:
3. *Anna*, b. Feb. 22, 1761.
 4. *Jonas*, b. July 23, 1763.
 5. *Jonathan*, b. Feb. 27, 1766.
 6. *Robert*, b. July 17, 1768.
 7. *Challis*, b. Apr. 15, 1771.
- v. WILLIAM, bapt. Dec. 29, 1734; d. Aug. 26, 1735.
- vi. WILLIAM, bapt. June 6, 1736; possibly the clerk wrote William in error for Philip.
- vii. PHILIP, described as twenty years old and born in Ipswich in a French War muster-roll of 1756. He served in five campaigns, 1755-1759, first as a drummer (1755), drum-major (1757), later as a lieutenant (1759). He was one of the leaders of the people against the justices in the "Westminister Massacre," Mar. 13, 1775, after his removal to Rockingham, Vt. In the Revolution he served at Ticonderoga in 1777 and was a member of the Rockingham Committee of Safety in 1778. He d. Apr. 14, 1814, aged 74. His wife, Elizabeth Bigelow, d. in Springfield, Vt., in Feb. 1825, aged 83.

Children, recorded in Springfield:

1. *Sally*, b. Sept. 11, 1769.
2. *Rebecca*, b. Apr. 18, 1774.

3. *Joel* (possibly), d. Aug. 30, 1777.
4. *Philip*, b. Feb. 2, 1781.
5. *A child*, still-born, July 8, 1783.
6. *Mercy*, b. May 9, 1788.
7. *Noah*, b. Oct. 9, 1790.
- viii. EBENEZER, b. June 7, 1739, at Sutton; m. in Hardwick Nov. 24, 1759, Abial Higgins, who m., second, Dec. 29, 1761, Israel Johnson. He served in the French War in the campaign of 1757, 1759 and 1760 (sergeant), and is stated to be twenty-one years old in a 1759 muster-roll.
Child, born in Hardwick:
1. *Ebenezer*, b. Dec. 9, 1759; lived in Chesterfield, N. H.
- ix. MARY, b. Apr. 7, 1742, at Sutton; m. in Hardwick June 29, 1762, Azariah Wright of Westminster, Vt.

10. DANIEL⁴ SAFFORD (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) was the executor of his father's and his step-mother's estates and seems to have occupied the paternal farm in Ipswich. Of his four wives the first (int. March 10, 1732) was Abigail Foster who died April 12, 1736, and the second (int. October 30, 1736) Hannah Hovey who died January 13, 1753. He married, third, November 22, 1753, widow Elizabeth (Nicholson) Herbert of Salem, who died December 21, 1777, aged 65, and finally (int. October 17, 1778), Sarah Pulciphier who survived him and died, his widow, January 20, 1798, aged 82, "of a great cold." He died May 24, 1796, aged 90, "of a pain in his breast."

His will, dated February 5, 1784, was proved September 6, 1796. Calling himself a yeoman, of Ipswich, he left the lower room with a bed-room partitioned off from it in his mansion house to his wife Sarah, together with all the furniture that she brought with her and other suitable provision. His clothing was to be divided between his four sons. The sons Daniel, Abraham and William were each given 6 s., while to William also went £10 and an interest in a lot of land at Turkey Hill. His daughter Hannah was to have the use of the front chamber as long as she remained unmarried, £20 and all of the household furniture, and his grandson Moses Pinder 5s. The executor and residuary legatee was his son Ebenezer. Wit-

nesses: Sarah Lowater, Mary Foster, Nathan Foster.²⁴

Children by first wife, bapt. in Ipswich:

- i. DANIEL, bapt. Sept. 1, 1734; m. (1) Lydia Caldwell, int. Apr. 21, 1758, in Ipswich; m. (2) Thankful Goodhue; d. June 24, 1818, at Essex, N. Y.
Children, the last five born in Rowley:
 1. *Abigail*, bapt. Sept. 30, 1759.
 2. *Rebecca*, m. at Rowley Jan. 1, 1788, Nathan Caldwell of Ipswich.
 3. *Ebenezer*, bapt. Apr. 6, 1766, in Ipswich; m. Sept. 7, 1790, Elizabeth Ellison at Salem.
 4. *Lydia*, bapt. July 7, 1768, in Ipswich.
 5. *Hannah*, b. July 22, 1770; m. Dec. 17, 1793, Joshua Plummer of Newbury.
 6. *Thomas*, b. Jan. 6, 1773; m. Jan. 5, 1792 Sally Osborn at Salem.
 7. *Elizabeth*, b. June 29, 1775; m. John Whitney.
 8. *Nathaniel*, b. Dec. 21, 1777; m. at Salem Dec. 2, 1799 Betsey Eveleth.
 9. *Sally*, b. Sept. 10, 1780; m. Joel French.

- ii. ABRAHAM, bapt. Apr. 4, 1736; m. Martha Dennis, int. Nov. 26, 1757, in Ipswich. He was in the fight at Lake George Sept. 8, 1755, under Col. Moses Titcomb, and was wounded in the right arm. He settled in Andover, where nine children are recorded, but by 1770 he was a cabinet-maker and inn-keeper in Salem. After the Revolution he moved to Londonderry, N. H., and from there to Bath, N. H., where he d. Jan. 5, 1829.

Children:

1. *Patty*, b. May 15, 1759; d. June 27, 1759.
2. *Patty*, b. Apr. 28, 1760; m. June 20, 1781, Daniel Russ of Methuen.
3. *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 30, 1761.
4. *Abraham*, b. Nov. 5, 1763.
5. *John*, b. Mar. 16, 1766.
6. *Theodore*, b. Dec. 29, 1767.
7. *Hannah*, b. Oct. 2, 1769.
8. *Mary*, b. Apr. 3, 1772, at Salem.
9. *James*, bapt. Mar. 13, 1774, at Salem.
10. *Sarah*, bapt. Feb. 16, 1777, at Andover.
11. *Isaac*, bapt. Nov. 1, 1778.

By second wife:

- iii. HANNAH, bapt. May 17, 1738; a legatee of her step-

²⁴ Essex Probate, 364: 432.

grandmother, Sarah (Scott) Safford, in 1761; d., unmarried, at Salem Dec. 4, 1822, aged 84.

- iv. ABIGAIL, bapt. Dec. 28, 1740; not named in her father's will.
- v. MARY, bapt. May 30, 1742; a legatee of her step-grandmother, but not named in her father's will.
- vi. ELIZABETH, m. in Ipswich Oct. 4, 1765, Moses Pinder.
- vii. EBENEZER, bapt. Apr. 3, 1748; m. (1) in Ipswich, Apr. 9, 1772, Lucy Haskell, who d. June 19, 1788; m. (2) in Ipswich Apr. 2, 1789, Eunice Fitts, who d. May 6, 1819, aged 76; he d. of consumption Aug. 23, 1815, aged 67. A yeoman, of Ipswich, he made his will Aug. 10 and it was proved Sept. 5, 1815. He left the entire estate to his wife Eunice during her widowhood, after the payment of small legacies to his five children, and named his son Ebenezer executor.²⁵

Children, named in his will:

- 1. *Hannah*, m. in Ipswich May 10, 1796, Capt. Daniel Lord.
- 2. *Lucy*, unmarried in 1815.
- 3. *Ebenezer*, b. Aug. 27, 1775; m. Dec. 21, 1808, Hannah Osborne at Danvers.
- 4. *William*, b. Mar. 27, 1779; m. Louisa Knowlton of Kennebunk at Wells, Apr. 2, 1801.
- 5. *Susanna*, m. Dec. 4, 1815, Nathan Safford.

By third wife:

- viii. WILLIAM, bapt. Feb. 22, 1756; a baker by trade; moved to Salem, where he m. (1) Dec. 25, 1779, Thankful Goodale, who d. May 4, 1785, aged 29, and (2) June 7, 1792, Abigail Swasey, who d. Jan. 7, 1843, aged 86; he d. Feb. 27, 1847, aged 91.

Children, born in Salem, by first wife:

- 1. *Elizabeth*, bapt. June 18, 1781.
- 2. *William*, b. Apr. 2, 1783.
- 3. *Joshua*, b. Feb. 8, 1785.

By second wife:

- 4. *Henry Swasey*, b. July 9, 1793.
- 5. *Abigail*, twin, b. July 25, 1798.
- 6. *Thankful*, twin, b. July 25, 1798.
- 7. *Elizabeth*, b. June 13, 1801; d. Oct. 11, 1812.
- 8. *Edward*, b. Jan. 13, 1803; d. at sea on the brig *Comet*, aged 19.²⁶

11. JOHN⁴ (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) married in Ipswich, int. September 13, 1735, Martha Haskell. They

²⁵ Essex Probate, 387: 445.

²⁶ Newspaper of Mar. 11, 1823.

settled in Harvard where he died June 2, 1782, in his seventy-fourth year. She survived until April 20, 1807, when she was ninety-six years of age. He was seated in the fifth seat in the Harvard meeting-house in 1766, but with increasing age was promoted to the second seat in 1775.

Children :

- i. MARTHA, bapt. Jan. 9, 1736; d. Jan. 27, 1736.
- ii. MARTHA, bapt. Apr. 2, 1738; m., int. Jan. 8, 1757, Nathaniel Howard of Newbury at Ipswich.
- iii. ELEANOR, bapt. Apr. 28, 1740; m. June 16, 1763, Joshua Pierce of Shirley at Harvard.
- iv. JOHN, bapt. July 17, 1742; m. Jan. 31, 1765, Mehitable Farnsworth at Harvard. They settled at Washington, N. H., where at the first town meeting he was elected selectman and town clerk.

Children :

1. *John*, b. in Harvard Aug. 12, 1765; d. in Dexter, Me., in 1822.
2. *Martha*, b. in Harvard Mar. 11, 1767.
3. *Mehitable*, b. June 18, 1769; d. in infancy.
4. *Stephen*, b. in Washington Nov. 21, 1771; d. May 31, 1777.
5. *Mark*, b. May 12, 1773; d. Aug. 29, 1777.
6. *Simeon*, b. May 17, 1775; d. May 27, 1775.
7. *Simeon*, b. July 29, 1776; d. in Dexter, Me., in 1845.
8. *Mehitable*, b. Oct. 10, 1779; d. Dec. 28, 1785.
9. *Mark*, b. Aug. 10, 1782; m. Jan. 30, 1807, Mercy Barrett.
10. *Lucy*, b. Apr. 6, 1788; d. Nov. 13, 1800.
11. *Rev. Ward*, b. Apr. 6, 1788; Yale College, 1812; m. (1) Mar. 23, 1819, Hannah Ward; m. (2) Oct. 1, 1841, Mary Burnham. He changed his name to *Stafford*, on the mistaken theory that that was its original form.
- v. ABIGAIL, bapt. July 15, 1744; m. (1), int. Apr. 8, 1764, her cousin Enoch Safford of Newbury, at Harvard; m. (2), int. Mar. 24, 1767, Charles Bailey of Newbury.
- vi. WARD, bapt. Aug. 2, 1747; m. at Harvard Apr. 26, 1774, Priscilla Randall of Stow; "minute man" at Cambridge under Capt. Fairbank Apr. 19, 1775; selectman of Harvard 1781, 1801, 1804-1806; d. Dec. 1, 1820, aged 73; she d. Aug. 29, 1822, aged 75.
- vii. RUTH, bapt. Apr. 8, 1750; m. at Harvard Dec. 6, 1770, Samuel Haskell.

- viii. EUNICE, bapt. July 12, 1752; m. at Harvard Dec. 26, 1771, Elijah Wildes, jr., of Shirley.
- ix. WILLIAM, bapt. Jan. 12, 1755; m. Apr. 29, 1778, Sarah Scollay, who d. in Shirley Jan. 24, 1838, aged 79; a "minute man" at Cambridge under Capt. Isaac Gates, Apr. 19, 1775, and later a corporal under Capt. Asa Whitcomb; retailer of spirits at Harvard, 1776-1781.
Children:
 - 1. *A child*, d. Nov. 10, 1778.
 - 2. *A child*, d. Aug. 14, 1780.
 - 3. *Sarah*, b. Apr. 17, 1781.

12. NATHAN⁴ SAFFORD (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) was born in Ipswich March 16, 1712. He moved to Boston where he was married to Lydia Stetson by Rev. Thomas Foxcroft October 10, 1737. She was certainly the mother of his daughter and probably of his son. His second wife, married in Boston February 7, 1744, was Elizabeth Davis. He died before his father, in whose will (1753) his two children are named, and with whom they probably lived after the death of their parents.

Children:

- i. MARY, b. Dec. 27, 1738, in Boston; m. in Ipswich, int. July 1, 1758, Benjamin Caldwell.
- ii. THOMAS, b. about 1740; m. at Medford July 31, 1764, Sarah Kettell; lived in Dedham, Watertown and Roxbury.

Children:

- 1. *Thomas*, bapt. Aug. 24, 1766, at Dedham; m. (1) in Concord Aug. 30, 1791, Elizabeth Fosdick, who d. in Lancaster March 11, 1818, aged 49; m. (2) June 9, 1819, Anna Brigham of Marlboro, who d. in Barre May 11, 1858; he d. in Lancaster June 20, 1825, aged 59.
- 2. *Sally*, bapt. July 14, 1771, in Roxbury; m. at Cambridge Apr. 2, 1793, Aaron Everett.
- 3. *Benjamin*, bapt. Apr. 4, 1773, at Roxbury.

13. JAMES⁴ SAFFORD (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) was born in Ipswich June 27, 1714. He was ten years old when his mother died and it is very probable that he was brought up by his Cheney grandparents in Newbury, where he lived all of his adult life. He was generally called in deeds a tailor, sometimes a yeoman. He mar-

ried, first, Hepsibah Hale in Newbury October 7, 1736. She died November 3, 1753. On September 5, 1754, he married Rachel Poor, who died September 30, 1759. Thirdly, he married, April 5, 1763, Florence Jacques. She was living on December 9, 1790, when he stated "whereas my present wife Florence when she married me had furniture etc., if she survive me it is to return to her heirs, excluding my children."²⁷

In 1766 he deeded to his son James Safford, Jr., mariner, a house lot on Merrimac street in Newburyport, in 1786 to his daughter Anna Tilton, widow, eight rods bounded by his own land, and in 1797 to his son John a house and one and a third acres on Merrimac street.²⁸ There is no record of his death nor of that of his third wife.

Children, born in Newbury :

By first wife :

- i. STEPHEN, b. Feb. 18, 1738; m. in Biddeford, int. July 20, 1762, Sarah Clay; no further record found and his name does not appear on the Maine Census of 1790.
- ii. ENOCH, b. Oct. 31, 1740; m. his cousin Abigail Safford of Harvard, int. June 4, 1764; d. before 1767 when she m. Charles Bailey of Newbury, at Harvard.
- iii. JAMES, b. Oct. 21, 1742; apparently had a first wife who d. before Dec. 12, 1772, when he m. (2) Mary Winter. He was a private in Capt. Gideon Woodwell's detachment of "minute men" which marched to Cambridge on Apr. 19, 1775. He also served in Capt. Stephen Kent's company from July 13 to Dec. 9, 1775. He was a mariner, and d. before Jan. 17, 1781, when his father was appointed to administer his estate, Jacob Knight and Ezra Moody on his bond. After the allowance of the widow's dower, the estate, its total value £112, was found to be bankrupt. His brother John bought the house and fifteen rods of land on Merrimac street for £81 on Aug. 21, 1788.²⁹ The widow m. Jacob Hale July 7, 1783.

Children, baptized in Newburyport :

²⁷ Essex Deeds, 153 : 9.

²⁸ Essex Deeds, 145 : 217; 163 : 97; 164 : 46.

²⁹ Essex Probate, 354 : 290; 357 : 264.

1. *Anne*, bapt. Jan. 19, 1766.
2. *Moses*, bapt. Oct. 25, 1767; m. at Turner, Me., Mar. 15, 1790, Joanna Pettingill.
3. *Mary*, bapt. Nov. 26, 1769; d. Mar., 1776, aged 7.
4. *A child* of "Enoch jr." d. Feb. 10, 1776, aged 2½. There was certainly no Enoch Safford, jr., married in 1776. Possibly the record should be *Enoch*, son of James Safford, jr.
5. *Mary*, bapt. Mar. 17, 1776; m. Sept. 26, 1794, Samuel Pettingill.
- iv. ANNE (or Anna), b. July 4, 1744; m. Nathaniel Tilton, int. Sept. 20, 1766.
- v. JOHN, b. Aug. 8, 1746; m. (1) at Sutton Dec. 6, 1770, Ruth Hayden, who d. June 13, 1810, aged 56; m. (2) at Newburyport Sept. 19, 1811, Jane (Noyes) Pearson, who d. Feb. 3, 1832, aged 69; he d. Dec. 21, 1829, aged 83. His will, carpenter, made Nov. 27, 1829, provides for the care of his wife Jane, who was insane. The house and 15 rods of land which he bought from the estate of his brother James was left to his niece Hepsibah Tilton with all the household furniture except what his wife brought with her at marriage. The land is described as bounded easterly on Water street, southerly by Wormstead's land, northerly and westerly by Hale's land. The residue went to Pike Noyes, who was named executor.³⁰
- vi. RICHARD, bapt. Mar. 26, 1749; no further record.³¹
By second wife:
- vii. HANNAH, b. Nov. 13, 1755.
- viii. MOSES, b. Sept. 16, 1759; from the names of his children it is obvious that he was the Moses Safford, with wife Joanna, who settled in Poland, Maine, by 1790.
Children, born in Poland:
 1. *James*, b. Nov. 24, 1790.
 2. *John*, b. April 5, 1792.
 3. *Moses*, b. Jan. 14, 1794.
 4. *Anne*, b. July 12, 1795.

14. STEPHEN⁴ SAFFORD (Thomas³, John², Thomas¹) was baptized in Ipswich February 10, 1716. He was married in Boston by Rev. Andrew Eliot May 17, 1744, to Sarah Champnies, whose name was anglicized to Jar-

³⁰ Essex Probate, 407: 315.

³¹ A Richard Safford was listed as living in Stokes County, North Carolina, in the Census of 1790.

vis by her descendants. He was a sail-maker and lived in Ipswich, although he seems to have had Gloucester connections as well, the vital records of that town containing several items regarding his family.

The "wife of Stephen Safford" died in Ipswich August 16, 1766.³² He died in Ipswich in July, 1767.³³

His will, dated June 18, 1767, directs that his two youngest children, Abigail and Nathan, be supported and educated until they come of age. To eldest son Stephen, £5 above his brethren. The residue to his five children, Stephen, Sarah, Lydia, Abigail and Nathan. Executor: his brother Daniel. Witnesses: John Bly, Nathan Foster.³⁴

In 1784 the five children sold one-half an acre in Ipswich to their cousin Simeon Safford.³⁵

Children:

- i. SARAH, b. Apr. 10, 1748; m. (1) John Derby of Lynn July 16, 1770; m. (2) Matthew Captel Liapchik (Leach), int. Jan. 27, 1781.
- ii. STEPHEN, b. Nov. 29, 1750; m. in Gloucester May 29, 1774, Experience Herring. He settled in Bakerstown (Poland), Me., as a farmer, but was late of Minot in 1814 when his heirs sold his land. His widow was living in Turner in 1835.³⁶
Children, born in Poland:
 1. *Lydia*, b. July 4, 1775; m. Joseph Herrick before 1814.
 2. *Stephen*, b. Nov. 3, 1777; m. at Minot Nov. 27, 1805, Phebe Davis.
 3. *Benjamin*, b. June 9, 1780; m. at Minot Nov. 28, 1805, Esther Lane.
 4. *Sally*, b. June 20, 1783; m. William Saunders of Livermore before 1814.
 5. *Daniel*, b. Mar. 13, 1788; m. at Bridgewater June 18, 1810, Betsey Warren.
 6. *Elizabeth*, b. May 21, 1790; d. May 3, 1800.
 7. *John*, b. Aug. 8, 1793; of Livermore in 1814.

³² The published Gloucester records say "Aug. 16, 1776, aged 40 years, 1 month, 16 days," the year being erroneous.

³³ The Gloucester records say "in Ipswich July 22, 1767, aged 50."

³⁴ Essex Probate, 344: 134.

³⁵ Essex Deeds, 142: 92.

³⁶ Cumberland Deeds, 69: 257; 141: 2.

8. *Judith*, b. Sept. 18, 1796; unmarried in 1814.
- iii. *LYDIA*, b. Oct. 10, 1753; m. (1) George Foster Mar. 20, 1773; m. (2) Stephen George May 18, 1783.
- iv. *ELIZABETH*, b. Mar. 10, 1757; d. Apr. 3, 1757.
- v. *NATHAN*, b. Apr. 11, 1758; d. 1759.
- vi. *NATHAN*, b. June 5 (or 6), 1760; m. at Salem Sept. 29, 1785, Elizabeth Foster. They settled in North Yarmouth, Me. He was a hatter. His heirs sold his North Yarmouth property to Jeremiah Ring Apr. 24, 1827.³⁷
 Children, born in North Yarmouth:
 1. *Nathaniel Foster*, b. June 13, 1786; m. (1) in Salem Dec. 5, 1808, Sally Smith; m. (2) at Hamilton Oct. 10, 1813, Hannah Woodbury.
 2. *Nathan*, b. July 22, 1788; m. Dec. 24, 1815, Susan Safford of Ipswich; d. at New Orleans Jan., 1833.
 3. *William*, b. Apr. 22, 1790; d. May 1, 1790.
 4. *Abigail*, b. May 22, 1791; m. Dec. 1, 1808, Reuben Curtis.
 5. *Betsey*, b. Aug. 22, 1793; m. July 3, 1811, Benjamin Pratt.
 6. *Desiah*, b. Feb. 24, 1796; d. Mar. 13, 1796.
 7. *Rebecca*, b. Mar. 10, 1797; m. May 1, 1815, John York.
 8. *Mary B.*, b. May 9, 1799; m. May 30, 1827, Joel R. Peabody.
 9. *John Derby*, b. Oct. 22, 1801; m. June 27, 1824, Jane B. Field.
 10. *James D.*, b. July 28, 1804; m. (1) July 6, 1833, Catherine Conville at Philadelphia; m. (2) Jan. 8, 1852, Elizabeth M. Jeffrey.
 11. *Dr. William*, b. Aug. 14, 1807; m. Jan. 27, 1839, Mary Springer.
- vii. *ABIGAIL*, b. Sept. 30, 1763; m. May 31, 1796, John Leonard of Salem.

³⁷ Cumberland Deeds, 117: 302.

NEWBURY REVOLUTIONARY WAR RECORDS.

FROM THE SAMUEL GERRISH ACCOUNT BOOK IN
POSSESSION OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Newbury, February y^e 28th 1776.

Rec^d of Samuel Gerrish Esq^r five pounds, five shillings
in full for my wages as made up on Cap^t William Rodgers
Rooll—

Ezekiel Fellows.

Newbury February y^e 28, 1776. Rec^d of Samuel Ger-
rish Esq^r five pounds in full for my wages as made up on
Cap^t William Rodgers Rooll.

Joseph Newell.

M^r David Emery, acc^t Newbury February y^e 28th 1776.
Sold to Col^o Samuel Gerrish nineteen hundred of Hay
for the use of the Continent at four pounds thirteen shill-
ings and four pence p^r Tenor. & also to receive a further
Sum of two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence for
conveying said hay to Cambridge from the Town. Rec^d
of the above said Gerrish the full pay for the Hay & also
one pound six and eight pence in part of the Town by
the hand of the said Samuel and also a further sum of
three pounds three shillings for carting for Col^o Arnolds
Regiment from Cambridge to Newbury.

as Witness my Hand —

David Emery.

February y^e 25th 1776 — Rec^d of Samuel Gerrish two
pounds thirteen shillings and four pence in full for cart-
ing hay from Newbury to Cambridge.

Stephen Adams.

February y^e 26th 1776 Rec of Samuel Gerrish four
pounds twelve shillings & four pence in full for a Tun
of hay.

Moses Hills.

February y^e 26th 1776 Rec^d of Samuel Gerrish Six
pounds Seven Shillings in full for a Tunn of Hay and
Conveying the same to Cambridge.

David Ordway.

July y^e 23^d 1776. I Roger White of Newbury In
the Countv of Essex & Province of Massachusetts Bay

do acknowledge to have Received from the third Parish in Newbury by the Hand of Col^o Samuel Gerrish Six pounds Lawfull In full to do half a turn to Canada — as witness my Hand ——— Roger White.

July y^e 23^d 1776 Wee Zebulon Ingersol & Daniel Thirston both of Newbury in the County of Essex & Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in Newengland Do acknowledge to have rec^d of the third Parish in Newbury by the Hands of Col^o Samuel Gerrish, twenty four pounds Lawfull money in full to do two turns for said Parrish in Canada as witness our hands...

Zebulon Ingersool

Daniel Thurston

Paid Handy a Soldier July y^e 23^d 1776 twelve poundsLawfull money...

Newbury, February y^e 26th 1777 — I Ezekiel Fellows do acknowledge to have Received of Samuel Gerrish Esqr, twenty pounds in full to do a full Turn for the Said Samuel During the war between Great Britton & the Colonies I say received by me.

July 12th 1776 the Sums below were paid by the following persons for men to go to Canada:

Josiah Bartlett	£10:0:0
D ^r Sawyer	6:
Moses Hills	6:
Stephin Noyes	6:
Joseph Chase Ju ⁿ	6:
Benjamin Hills	6:
Moses Newell	2:8
Abraham Adams	3:
Cap ^t James Smith	2:8
Enoch Noyes	3:
Samuel Woodman	2:8
Cap ^t Edmund Little	4:16

£58:00:00

July y^e 23^d 1776 the sums below were paid by the following persons for men to go to Canada:

William Noyes 3: 6: 8

Rev ^d David Tappen	3: 0: 0
Nathanaell & Moses Brickett	3: 6: 8
M ^r Daniel Carr	3: 10: 0
Sumersby Chase	1: 13: 4
Stephen Adams	1: 13: 4
Bernard Brickett	1: 6: 8
Joshua March	3: 8:
Dec ⁿ John Merrill	3: 12:
Tristram Chase	2: 2:
Stephen Bailey	1: 16:
Enoch Bailey	1: 10:
M ^r Benjamin Jaques	2: 2: 0
John Little	3: 0: 0
Israel Adams	1: 4: 0
David Chase Jun ^r	2: 2: 0
Samuel Gerrish	3: 6: 8
Joseph Bartlett Ju ⁿ	3: 0: 0
Edward Woodman	2: 0: 0

Went to Cambridge under Under the Command of Cap^t Poor in November 1775: Parker Pillsbury, Parker Chase, Benjamin Hill, Abel Woodman, Zebulon Ingersol, James Follansbee, Moses Pilsbury, John Smith, Amos Carlton, Joⁿ Carlton, Moses Jaques, Parker Jaques, Joseph Noyes, Juⁿ, Samuel Pilsbury, Abel Chase Lieut^t.

Went to Cambridge in february 1776, under the command of Cap^t Rodgers: Moses March, Benjamin Adams, John Adams, Nehemiah Follansbe, John Flanders, Mark Woodman, John Cooper, Daniel Chase, Nathanael Chase, John Follansbe.

Went to Ticonderoga under the Comand of Cap^t Rodgers in July 1776: Jonathan Thirston Hired by M^r Josiah Bartlet at 75 old Tenor; Samuel Jaques Jun^r Hired at 40: Dollers for M^r Hales Parrish Nath^l Chase Hired at Ditto, Abner Kimball.

December ye 11th 1781 This Day Received from Sam^l Gerrish thirteen Hundred old Emission (sic) Dollars towards Hiring Joseph Noyes to go into the Continental Army.
Stephen Adams.

Went to Ticonderoga in August under the Command

of Cap^t Thomas Brown in 1776: Daniel Thirston, Ze^b Ingersoll, Rodger White, D^r Sawyer, & M^r Moses Hill hired a man out of the Parrish one Handy hired by the Parrish.

Went to Dorchester under the comand of Cap^t Dodge for three months in Aug^t 1776: Ensign Samuel Pilsbury, Jonathan Carlton in person, James Follansbe in Person, Benjamin Chase Son of the Widow Sarah Chase.

This Tower was Reckned at 20 pounds old Tenor ₤ man.

Went to York in October under the Command of Cap^t Insley for two months in 1776: Parker Pilsbury, Daniel Bailey, Abel Woodman, Daniel Morse, John Hahkins, Joshua Sawyer.

December 1776, went into the Army under Cap^t Moody the following Persons by Hire & in Person:

Francis Follansbe Jun^r in Person

Joseph Adams Ditto

Maj^r Noyes & Joshua Hills, & Joseph Hill . . . 40: Do^{rs}.

Samuel Bailey a hired man at Ditto

Joseph Little a hired man Ditto

Asa Bailey a hired man Ditto

Abraham Adams Jun & John Brickett Ditto

Joseph Chase & Samuel Gerrish Ditto

Moses Emery a hired man at Ditto Ditto

John Chase & Ensign Daniel Carr Ditto

Amos & Moses Dole Ditto

Moses March at Ditto

Joseph Newell a hired man Ditto

Webster Bailey & Thomas Brickett Ditto

February 1777 . . . the following are the persons that hired During the Warr. . . M^r Moses Hills & Son Benjamin & D^r Sawyer, Samuel Gerrish & Joseph Chase Jun^a & Son, M^r Carlton & Sons, Samuel Woodman & Joseph Bartlet, Benjamin Hills & Sons, John Merrill, Joshua March & Sons, Abel Chase, Josiah Bartlet & Son, Stephen Ordway, Moses, Brickett, Daniel Carr, Stephen Bailey.

AN EARLY LETTER OF GEORGE PEABODY,
THE LONDON BANKER, TO HIS PARTNER,
ELISHA RIGGS, 1816.

Baltimore 18th May 1816

Elisha Riggs Esq^r

D^r Sir,

Your favours of the 14th by George Gaither—16th by M^r Levining and of yesterday by M^r Lackland have all been handed me — the latter enclosing an Invoice of Silk & Thread Buttons, which are received and I presume will sell at a very handsome profit —

I have been very much engaged since my return — my sales for this week is about 4000\$ — Viz —

Sundry persons for Cash about	\$1200.00
Richard Anderson	168.00
Sundry persons in the City	400.00
Charles Scott of Alex ^a	650.00
Blunt of Geo. Town	285.00
Walter Cox	430.00
George Gaither	200.00
A person in Parkersburgh V ^a (good reference)	700.00

making — \$4033.00

which have paid good profits — and I believe my sales are as good as any persons in Baltimore, unless it is those who give 9 & 12 mo Credit, and do an extensive Country Business, my credits are generally 4 months, but have occasionally given as long as Six — The goods from the Importing Company of George Town sell as well as I expected — The Shawls bought in Company with Nicholls are all gone at 20 pCt profit — the fine prints which cost 33½ bring 37½ to 40 — plates which cost 23½ sell well at 25 — none of the Superfine Cloths are sold, I have not had time to Call on the Taylors —

I have not been in the Market, do not therefore know the price of French goods — I should not wish to be concerned in purchasing at present, unless some trifling articles — as I wish to get my stock as low as possible before the fall — to the present time, my sales this spring have exceeded my purchases —

Old Reinicker has called on me to know if we intend

keeping the store another year — he is rather more liberal than I expected — his price is 1600\$ — but we must give him an answer on Monday, otherwise if he can get more he shall rent it — Let me have your opinion by return of mail — There is several persons who I know wish to get it — Dugas in particular — I saw him talking with the old man to day; and I suspect on this subject — I have no doubt, but if he was to advertise it he could obtain considerable more than he ask's us — there is no difficulty in obtaining some decription of stores, but there has been so much dividing and cutting up that good and convenient ones are scarce — I should think it better even for us to pay 1-200\$ more, now we are established in this; than to remove — should however like to have it remain untill our time expires, but the old man will not consent—neither will he deviate in price —

I could not obtain a draft on New York nor Bank Notes, when our note was due to Vanscharit & Ginn was therefore oblidgd to allow 11 p Cent advance Baltimore Mony — I have as yet made no arrangment towards paying V & Wooden, I hope you will be able to get a draft in Geo. Town as none are drawing in this place — I can buy District Mony at $2\frac{1}{2}$ pCent, but not more — Cumberland, Chambersburgh, Williamsport &c at 5 — Parkersburgh probably at 10 — Unchartered V^a 5-6 —

If you wish any notes offered for Discount towards paying your draft to Bowie & Kurtz — it would be well to send them previous to Wednesday next —

Those that have merchants paper will not sacrafise it — several have advertised to take it for goods— and it is not probable any amount could be bought even at 10-15 pCent — although no person is buying —

As I find it necessary to be in the store the whole time when business is doing, I have not yet had time to enter the goods from the Franklin, have however wrote Halliday on the subject —

Would it do to purchase a few Thousand Dollars Cumberland, Williamsport, & Chamberburgh Mony @ 5 pCt — also Parkersburgh @ 10 — please write me by return of Mail —

With Respect I am Yours

G Peabody

NEWBURYPORT PRIVATEERING, 1779-1780.

The following notes are taken from a receipt book kept by Joseph Ingersoll & Co., auctioneers and marine insurance brokers in Newburyport, during the Revolutionary War. The receipt book is owned by the Essex Institute.

Col. Joseph Ingersoll, a descendant of Richard Ingersoll of Salem, was a native of Falmouth (Portland), Maine, born in 1725, but the family moved to Boston quite early. His wife was Elizabeth Davenport of Boston, daughter of James and Sarah (Franklin) Davenport, and a niece of Benjamin Franklin. Joseph Ingersoll was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the French and Indian War and was at Crown Point in 1759. In 1764, he was keeping the famous Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, headquarters for the patriots who espoused the cause of the colonies, and where it is said the Tea Party was planned. It was probably through the Davenports, his wife's people, that he went to Newburyport during the Revolution to conduct an auction room for the sale of vessels taken as prizes and also a general marine insurance business. The Davenports were proprietors of the Wolfe Tavern in Newburyport. Ingersoll was apparently conducting the same business in Boston at the time, because on March 25, 1778, the selectmen of Boston, in writing to the assessors, included his name in a list of persons outside the town who "ought to be taxed here for the real estate they occupy and the business they do here." While in Newburyport he married a second wife, Elizabeth Brown. At the close of the war, he returned to Boston and kept a boarding house at the corner of Tremont and Court streets, where Washington lodged during his visit to New England in 1789. His will was probated in Boston, March 15, 1790, his wife and two daughters surviving him.

Amounts paid:

Feb. 5, 1779. To Enoch Titcomb, 3d, £227.2.0 on account of goods sold out of the *Monmouth's* prize brig *General Murray*; Feb. 9, £300, on the same account.

Feb. 10. To Ebenezer Stocker, £243, on account of the *Bennington's* prize for Nathaniel Tracy.

Feb. 17. To Enoch Titcomb, 3d, £568.4, on account of prize ship *Unity*.

Feb. 20. To Samuel Newhall, £3.430.6, on account of the *Bennington's* prize vessels and stores.

Feb. 22. To Tho. Thomas, £848.12.3, in full for the *Harriot* stores sold at auction Nov. 11 last.

Feb. 24. To William Wyer, £136.10, premium on brig *Sally*, Capt. Aubin.

Mar. 2. To Enoch Titcomb, 3d, £1,066.18, on account of *Monmouth's* prize.

Mar. 4. To John Bromfield, £101.2 premium on brig *Sally*, Philip Aubin.

Mar. 4. To John Fletcher, £146.5, premiums on brig *Sally*, Philip Aubin.

Mar. 26. To Tristram Dalton, £22.10, for rent of store for one quarter.

Apr. 1. To Jas. Tileston, £2,456.8, on account of brig *Patty* sold at auction for the agents of the *Bennington*.

Apr. 8. To Daniel Sargent, £993.12, discounted on account of brig *Patty* bought at auction, Mar. 20.

Apr. 27. To Samuel Newhall, £941.5, in full for the prize bgtne. *Patty* sold at auction Mar. 20.

May 17. To Wm. Andrews, £1,734.1.6 on account of the *Monmouth* prize ship *Charming Sally* sold at auction Apr. 20.

June 5. To Samuel Newhall, £1,588.16, in full for the bgtne. *Chance* sold at auction May 19.

June 9. To Samuel Newhall, £335.4, in full for the ship *William* sold at auction May 28.

June 22. To William Cross, £392.1.3, for a ship's topsail sold at auction June 17 for Mr. Stephen Cross.

July 9. To Jno. Newman and Joseph Noyes, £2,640, on account of the prize brig *Mary* and stores sold at auction June 17; Aug. 24, £5000; Oct. 18, £4,000; Jan. 12, 1780, £3,757 all on same account.

Aug. 2. To Samuel Tufts, £2,172.16.10½ on account of the prize schooner *Betsy* sold at auction July 31.

Aug. 27. To Samuel Tufts, £877.10, on account of the prize bgtne. *Elizabeth & Mary* sold at auction Aug. 25.

Sept. 9. To Jno. Newman and Joseph Noyes, £877.3.6,

for sundry stores belonging to the agents of the *Vengeance* from the bgtne. *Mary* sold at auction Aug. 25.

Sept. 13. To John Fletcher, £5,039.2 on account of the prize ship *Hunter* sold at auction June 16; Sept. 23, £1000, Oct. 6, £2,000, Oct. 19, £2635.4.9 all on same account.

Sept. 17. To William Tidcomb, £2,000.2 on account of the brig *Mary* sold at auction June 17. Sept. 25, £175 on same account.

Sept. 21. To James Johnston, £1,461.15.6, on account of sundry stores sold at auction from the *Pallas*, Aug. 25. Oct. 16, £988.2 on same account.

Sept. 26. To Tristram Dalton £22.10 in full for one year's rent of store; also on Jan. 12, 1780, £75, for one quarter's rent of house.

Oct. 4. To John Tracy, £17,489.13.3, for one half of the owner's part of the *Pallas's* prize ship *Hunter* sold at auction on June 16.

Oct. 5. To Wm. Tidcomb, £1,354.1.8 in full for the owner's part of the net proceeds of the *Vengeance's* prize bgtne. *Mary* sold at auction June 17.

Oct. 15. To Samuel Newhall, £407.2 on account of premiums of insurance for Capt. Joseph Lee.

Nov. 22. To Samuel Blyth, £156. in full for a boat sold at auction this day.

Dec. 30. To Samuel Batchelder, £1500 on account of insurance on ship *Unity*.

Jan. 27, 1780. To George Searle, £1,000 on account of insurance on the bgtne. *Chance* for Jonathan Jackson, Esq.

Mar. 11. To Samuel Tufts, £4,088.2 on account of the prize bgtnes. *Tryton* and *Experiment* sold at auction Mar. 8. Mar. 23, £10,000, Apr. 6, £8000.2 all on same account.

Mar. 29. Enoch Titcomb, 3d, £6,000 on account of the prize brigs *Tryton* & *Experiment* sold at auction on Mar. 8. Apr. 12, £3,550, Apr. 22, £1281.3.6, all on same account.

Apr. 18. Michael Hodge, £2,400 on account of the

schooner *Fox* sold at auction Apr. 14. May 1, £6,450.14, on same account.

Apr. 28. To Joseph Cutler, in behalf of Stephen Hooper, Esq., £2,708.10, in full for sundry goods sold out of the bgtne. *Gates* at auction Apr. 18.

May 10. To Joseph Cutler, for Stephen Hooper, £10,200, on account of the ship *Elizabeth*, sold at auction May 3. May 12, £2,000, May 19, £4,300, May 23, £1,200, May 24, £1,000, June 1, £4,000, June 6, £5,729.14, June 13, £6,000, June 13, £27,441.13, per hands of Lee & Jones, June 14, £10,000, per Lee & Jones by an order on Capt. Nehemiah Somes on same account, June 16, £8,375.8, June 17, £12,000, June 23, 1780, £6,555.5 in full on same account.

May 16. To Tristram Dalton, £4,000 on account of Stephen Hooper, Esq., as agent to the owners of ship *Aurora*.

May 20. To Tristram Dalton, £150 in full for a quarter's house rent ending Mar. 1st last.

July 8. To Samuel Tufts, £2,000.2, on account of prize schooner *Delight*. July 21, £1,700, Aug. 5, £1,039.10, Aug. 12, £1,901.2 by hands of Mr. Mark Fitz on account of Mr. Ralph Cross, Jr., Aug. 19, £500, Sept. 23, £3,000, Oct. 5, £4,000, Oct. 12, £2055, all on same account.

July 29. To James Tileston, £1,697.4, on account of the prize snow *Hope* and sold at auction July 26. July 31, £3,107.2, Aug. 4, £2,747.16, Aug. 10, £267 on same account.

Aug. 19. To Nicholas Johnson, £1912.14, on account of the prize sloop *Experiment*, sold at auction Aug. 9, Aug. 22, £397, on same account.

Aug. 29. To Jonathan Mulliken, £2,574.3, on account of insurance discounted on snow *Hope* bought at auction July 26.

Aug. 30. To Joseph Cutler, £2,005.4 on account of the brig *Cobholm*. Sept. 2, £4,500, Sept. 5, £1,000, £3,180.10, Sept. 21, on account of brig *Cobholm* and schooner *Rambler* sold at auction Aug. 3.

Sept. 12. To M. Hodge, £608.18, on account of prize sloop *Lively* bought at auction Aug. 1.

Sept. 12. To Joseph Cutler, per Nathaniel Clough, £1,000 on account of schooner *Rambler* sold at auction Aug. 3.

Sept. 22. To Samuel Batchelder, £5,300 on account of brig *Two Brothers* at auction. Sept. 23, £2549.15 on same account.

Sept. 25. To Samuel Batchelder, £10,004.14 on account of the bgtne. *Robert* sold at auction Sept. 20. Oct. 5, £16,000, Oct. 10, £5000.2, Oct. 14, £5,000, Nov. 15, £4,026.6, Nov. 23, £2142.18, Dec. 2, £2005.10, all on same account.

Oct. 2. To Robert Stevenson, £787 on account of the bgtne. *Robert*, sold at auction Sept. 20. Oct. 16, £25,000; Oct. 20, £9000; Oct. 30, £2,032.

Oct. 31. To John Stickney, £2,108.2 on account of insurance on schooner *Polly*.

Nov. 11. To M. Hodge, £12,788.14 on account of ship *Keppel* sold at auction Nov. 7.

Nov. 15. To John Low, Jr., £9,774.12 on account of snow *Beaver*, sold at auction Oct. 20; Nov. 28, £12,000.

EXPORTS FROM SALEM IN 1750.

[The following manuscript, giving the names of vessels, the names of masters and the cargoes, from November 26, 1750, to January 21, 1751, was originally in the Dr. Bentley papers at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, which organization was the beneficiary of all of Dr. Bentley's collections. Through the generosity of that Society it has been returned recently to Salem and is deposited in the Essex Institute.

It is interesting to note the fact that rum and molasses were sent to the Southern ports, fish to Spain and furniture, in the shape of chairs, was exported to Virginia and Maryland. This is perhaps the earliest mention of chairs being sent out of Salem. Whether they were of local manufacture or were a re-export, it is not possible to state with accuracy.]

AN ACCOUNT OF EXPORTS FROM THE PORT OF SALEM FROM NOV. 26th, 1750, TO JAN. 21, 1751.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Master's Names</i>	<i>Cargo</i>
Nov. 30	Scooner Brewer to Barb,	Amos Stickney,	20 Hhd. fish, 10M boards, 3M staves, 10M shingles, 1M hoops.
	Ditto Hawk to Do,	Jerem Procter,	45 Hhd. fish, 25M shingles.
	Scooner Judah to Spain,	Abram Somes,	800 Qtls. fish.
Dec 1	Do Nightingale to Barb,	Edw. Bowen,	69 hhd. fish, 4 bbls. mackerell, 1 bl. oil.
	3 Snow John's Adv.,	Joseph Dorrett,	1350 Qtls. fish, 32 T logwood, 1500 wt.
	4 Scooner Lucretia to Virg,	Sam ^l Carrell,	9 Qtls. fish, 9 hhds. rum, 5 hh: 2 bls. sugar, 3 bbls. mackerell, 30 bbls. cider, 3 ds oars, 6 hhds. earth & wooden ware.
	5 Snow Bilbao to Do,	Tho. Dixey,	2400 qtls. fish, 30 bbls. cider, 20 hhds. W & E ware, 1 pipe wine.
	7 Scooner Sparrow to Virg,	Sam West jur.	
	Do Molly to Virg.,	Will. Ellery,	10 qtls. fish, 3 hhds. rum, 2 bbls. sugar, 3 bbl. molasses, 2 bbls. blub- ber, 3 hds cider.
	Do Rainbow to W. Indies,	Wm. Ingersol,	35 hhd. fish, 1M boards, 15 bbls. mackerell, 12 bbls. onions.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Master's Names</i>	<i>Cargo</i>
	Do Achilles to W. Indies,	Robert Elwell,	32 hhd. fish, 14M shingles, 1M hoops, 20 bbls. mackerell, 2 bbls. oil, 50 bush. corn.
8	Scooner Tryal to V. & Md.,	Joseph Lufkin,	3 hhds. 4 bbs. rum, 2 bbl. sugar, 1 hd. 1 bbl. molasses, Braz- ing ware, Iron, earthen & wooden ware, 5 hhds. salt.
	Ditto Pink to Vir. & Md.,	Joseph Parsons,	6 Qtls 6 bl. pickled fish, 3 hhds. 2 bbs. rum, 1 hhd. sugar, 3 bbls. mackerell.
	Scooner Joseph to W. Ind.,	Jas. Roundy,	50 hhds. fish, 1200 staves, 5 bbls. mackerell.
	Ditto Bonny Kate, to V & M.,	Isaac Fowler,	8 hhds. rum, 3 bbls. sugar, 1 hhd. molasses, 40 bbls. cider, 12 hhds. salt wooden ware, 5 dz. chairs.
	Do Eliza to Barbadoes,	Edw. Hales,	40 hhd. fish, 1M staves.
15	Do Sarah to Ditto,	John White junr,	86 hhd. fish, 28M boards, 4 Cord Wood, 38½C hoops, 2 bls. mackerell, 4 bbls. oil, 4 oval Tables.
18	Sloop Dispatch N. Carolina,	Benaiah Titcomb,	5 hhds. rum, 1 bbl. sugar, 2 hhd. molasses, 4 ps. Osmb., 1 bale [torn], 84 bush. salt, Earthen ware 200 wt.
	Scooner Victory to Vir & Md.,	Tho. Phillips,	2 hhds. rum, 2 ds. oars, 2 hhds. cider, 2 hhds. salt, 4 ds. chairs, 4 millstones.
19	Do Duke Cumbland to Lisbon,	Joseph Stanwood,	700 Qtls. fish.
21	Bright Caesar to Barbadoes,	John Browne,	28 hhd. fish, 32M boards, 58M shingles, 8900 hoops, 8 bush. corn, 8 hhds. salt.
22	Bright Lark to Cadiz,	Tho. Dean, junr,	2000 Qtls. fish.
	Scooner Mercy to Portugal,	Wm. Dolliver,	1000 Qts. fish, 30 hd. sugar.
24	Do Jolly Robbin to Maryland,	Stephen Low,	20 qtls. fish, 3½ rum, 2 bbls. sugar, 4 bbls. mol., 5 bbls. mack., Iron, wooden & earthen ware, 5 bbs. cider, 2 ds. oars, 10 hhds. salt, 500 cwt. pot iron.
26	Sloop Seaflower to Barbadoes,	Andrew Ellingwood,	28 hhd. fish, 8500 boards, 1½M staves, 30M shingles, 1400 hoops, 5 hhd. Corn.
	Scooner Betty to L. Islands,	John Haskell,	35 hhd. fish, 4M boards, 1500 staves, 1M 6 shingles, 100 hoops, 8 bbl. mackerell.
28	Do Victory to Barbados,	Wm. Deadman,	35 hhd. fish, 30M boards, 80M shingles, 1000 hoops.
Jany 3	Do Welcome to Ditto,	Benjamin Bates,	37 hhd. fish, 30M boards, 1000 staves, 80M shingles.
	Do Snapper to Lisbon,	John Barker,	950 Qtls. fish.
4	Do Anstis to Barbadoes,	John Crowninshield Jur,	35 hhd. fish, 30M shingles, 15 bbls. mackerell.
5	Bright Aurora to Cadiz,	Nicholas Bartlet.	
7	Snow Hooper to Lisbon,	James Mugford,	3000 qtls. fish.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Master's Names</i>	<i>Cargo</i>
15	Scø John & Mary to Bilbao,	Philip Bass,	1750 Qtls. fish.
17	Do Dromo to W. Indies,	John White junr,	30 hhds. fish, 35M boards, 45M staves, 5 hhds. corn, 5 Cord wood, 2 ds. chairs.
21	Do Elizabeth to Vir or Md.,	Sam Day,	2 hhds. rum, 2 hhds. mol., 5 bush. corn.
	Do Sally to Europe,	Benj. Manning,	800 Qtls. fish.
	Sloop Sarah to W. Indies,	John Pearson,	7M boards, 7 bbls. mack., 5M bricks.
	Exported to Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina before Nov. 30, abt. 30 hhds. rum & 20 hhds. mo- lasses.		

—*Essex Institute Ship Papers, Vol. 1.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

MR. SAMUEL MCINTIRE, CARVER, THE ARCHITECT OF SALEM.

By Fiske Kimball, Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. 1940. 175 pp., quarto, illustrated. Portland, Maine: Published by the Southworth-Anthoensen Press, for the Essex Institute. Price, \$12.00.

After twenty or more years of diligent research on the part of Dr. Fiske Kimball, this work on Samuel McIntire has been brought to a successful conclusion. Dr. Kimball is well known as the Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and, incidentally, is of Essex County ancestry. He has used as a nucleus McIntire's many drawings and plans, which have long been owned by the Essex Institute, and has developed a story of immense proportions and of vital interest to those who value the beauty of the Federal period of architecture. The illustrations, numbering 373, are a particular feature of the book, and a work of this sort on such a grand scale has been made possible only by grants,—one from the Essex Institute and another from the American Council of Learned Societies. The illustrations include not only all of the original McIntire plans, but Salem houses and much detail of porches, doorways, mantels and staircases. Many interiors by him are now prized possessions of leading museums and are illustrated here with their contents, including furniture carved by this noted Salem woodcarver. This is a book which will be bought by every library in the country, and it is no idle speculation to prophesy that the small edition of 600 copies will be exhausted in short order.

PENOBSCOT MAN. By Frank G. Speck. 1940. 325 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Price, \$4.00.

Dr. Speck's lucid accounts about the life and culture of many tribes of aborigenes in Eastern North America have been long familiar to his fellow anthropologists. An accomplished linguist and keen observer in the field, as well as an able writer, his works are noted for their accuracy and clearness. This, his latest book, about the Penobscot Indians, who live on Indian Island near Oldtown, Maine, is up to his usually high standard. Historians of New England and of Maine in particular, as well as anthropologists, will welcome this book for the culture described is that of the Penobscots

after it had been long affected by contacts with white men. According to the Foreword the field work and manuscript were completed twenty-five years ago and the latter was only slightly changed by another visit to the Penobscots in 1936. Dr. Speck apologizes because the work shows tendencies in vogue in ethnology twenty-five years ago. There is, however, much to be said in favor of those earlier fads since those of today, while almost ignoring the material side, place an undue emphasis upon the social side of primitive cultures. Some aspects of Penobscot culture are not discussed here by Dr. Speck as he has covered them in separate papers published elsewhere. These are starred in the Bibliography.

After the introduction the text is divided into four parts: "Tribal Name and Habitat," "Material Life," "Arts Decorative Design and Techniques" and "Characteristics of Social Life." The first section has a good summary of the historical contacts between the whites and the Penobscot Indians.

The book is well illustrated with numerous halftones and line cuts and closes with a Postlude written after Dr. Speck's visit to Indian Island. Here changes which have taken place in the last twenty-five years are summed up with a very vivid and stirring account of life among the Penobscots at the present time.—E. S. DODGE.

A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS NEW ENGLAND. By Jonathan Daniels. 1940. 398 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.00.

In his tour of New England, Mr. Daniels, a North Carolinian, has written something more than a guide book or Chamber of Commerce propaganda. It is good sometimes to see ourselves as others see us, and, in the main, the author has been entertaining, honest and fair in his treatment of present-day New England. He met with all classes of people in the six states, and his criticisms are mostly quotations from the very persons whom he interviewed—the rich of Milton, the poor of Fall River, the potato raisers of Aroostook, the workers in the quarries of Vermont, bankers, captains of industry throughout the region, and "idlers" on park benches. It is his approach through conversation and anecdote that has enabled him to write a book very human and illuminating. Of Salem he writes: "So I took the indirect

road and went by Salem where the young men had taken their education in the forecastles between the Derby Wharf and Canton. Some of them had come back rich men and captains in their twenties. Some died in the Philippines, and some lived and never got rich at all. But there was a McIntire in Salem to guide the competitive display of the Derbys and Crowninshields. Unfortunately he could not guide the wealth-making which followed the wealth from the ships. It spread from the mills in the tawdriness, which so often in New England has engulfed the old towns. . . . Maybe it is a miracle in ugly Salem, where they have altered the Witch House to house a drugstore, that lovely Chestnut Street remains. In its brief length beneath its old elms, it is perhaps the noblest street in America. . . . There was a moment for a few in which there were both the money and the art for great dignity and serenity in this land. In Chestnut Street, the image remains." Mr. Daniels confesses a respect and admiration for the land of the "damyankees" which he expresses at length in the last chapter of his book. Strongly recommended to all libraries and the general public.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS. A History of American Morals and Manners as seen through the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs, 1905 to the Present. By David L. Cohn, with an Introduction by Sinclair Lewis. 1940. 597 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Simon and Schuster. Price, \$3.75.

The Sears, Roebuck catalogues, which began to be published in 1886, are about the rarest items to be picked up today. The only known complete set is owned by the company. Now they have become an important reference book for the fashions of the past fifty or more years—in every department of common and intimate household affairs. Mr. Cohn has used these catalogues in such an absorbing and often facetious manner as to delight and amaze the older generation, and to amuse the younger in recounting the almost unbelievable gadgets in use a half century ago. Sinclair Lewis writes the introduction, and compliments the author on giving us such a wonderful "parade of the wares that we have been buying and paying for and actually lugging into our homes and barns and offices these past fifty years." There is a very full and helpful index. This will be a ready reference book for years to come, and for that reason should be in every public library.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, 1703-1758. A Biography by Ola Elizabeth Winslow. 1940. 406 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.50.

Many volumes have been written about this eighteenth century ecclesiastic; but Miss Winslow's biography is to be counted the best presentation that has yet been published. Her treatment makes him more human, and at the same time does not omit the essential facts of his somewhat turbulent life. The family background in England and in the early days of the Connecticut colony are told interestingly, including some startling revelations of an erratic strain in the female line, which had resulted in murder. Miss Winslow wonders whether this unbalanced strain had any relation to the genius of Edwards, but there is no indication that he ever showed mental or emotional instability. The book follows him through his early rural surroundings, his years at Yale, his Northampton pastorate, the retreat to the Stockbridge mission and at last his final months as President of Princeton. The chapter on "The Great Awakening" and his association with Whitefield is among the best in the book, but it is all so well done and so fully documented that the author will receive the highest praise for such an outstanding work. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

THE BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION IN ART. By Oskar Hagen. 1940. 159 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Scribner's. Price, \$3.50.

The author, who is Professor of Art at the University of Wisconsin, writes of the history of art from about 1670 to the American Revolution, when artists in this country broke away from European traditions, and what he terms "the fiber of a truly American art" was created. This book is important because it shows the European background of American art, something which previously has not been stressed. Much new material on John Smibert and Robert Feke is introduced, and there are chapters on Benjamin West, and Copley in New England and in Europe. The author considers the contributions of Feke more constructive than Smibert; and that Copley was the most constructive force in the whole history of colonial art. He also thinks it a fallacy to rate Gilbert Stuart as a sterling American painter. There are 119 fine illustrations, including the fol-

lowing connected with Essex County: Dr. John Clarke, Capt. George Corwin, Mr. and Mrs. William Browne of Browne's Hall, Salem, Edward Holyoke, Mrs. Robert Hooper, Col. Jeremiah Lee. Strongly recommended to all libraries, as a thorough study of Colonial art.

JOHN PEMBER, *The History of the Pember Family in America*. By Celeste Pember Hazen. 1939. 324 pp., octavo, cloth. Springfield, Vermont: Privately printed by the author.

This family came from Pembroke in South Wales, settled early in England, and emigrated to Connecticut in the seventeenth century. The author has traced not only this family, but many others of the same name which settled in various parts of the United States. It is a thorough piece of work, and has a good index, which will recommend it to all genealogists.

HISTORY AND PROCEEDINGS of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association. Vol. IX. Deerfield, Mass., U. S. A. Published by the Association, in parts. 1939. 56 pp., paper.

Those interested in Old Deerfield will be glad to have this "annual" which contains much historical and biographical material written by well-known persons of that region, including N. Theresa Mellen, Margaret C. Whiting, Minnie R. Dwight, Walter A. Dyer, Lucy Cutler Kellogg, Joel Benjamin Wells, Hon. F. N. Thompson, John E. Gale, and Edward E. Whiting. Judge Thompson of Greenfield is the President of the Society and Frank L. Boyden, headmaster of Deerfield Academy, is a member of the Executive Committee. This society was organized in 1870, and is now in its ninth volume of publications. The price of each volume is \$2.50.

DESCENDANTS OF READE OR REED. Compiled by Mrs. Fanny L. S. Meadows, Farmington, Utah, assisted by Miss Jennie M. Ames, Cleveland, Ohio. 1937. 59 pp., octavo, cloth, multigraphed. Cleveland, Ohio: Address, 2625 East 75th Street. Price, \$3.00.

Much conscientious work has been put into this genealogy and there is a great deal of material hitherto unpublished.

William Reade was a pioneer resident of Massachusetts, in Boston and Woburn. The authors have traced the line from this pioneer, and when the sixth generation is reached, they have given quite fully the records of Supply Reade and his descendants. From this time the family name was changed from Reade to Reed. John Reed, son of Supply and Susan (Byam) Reed, married Rebecca Bearce, lived for a time in New Hampshire, then went to Ohio and joined the Mormons, and ultimately reached Utah. Male and female lines are traced. A full index completes the book.

THE ENGLISH NAVIGATION LAWS. A Seventeenth Century Experiment in Social Engineering. By Lawrence A. Harper. 1939. 503 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$3.75.

Since 1925, Dr. Harper, who is a professor at the University of California in Berkeley, has been engaged in a study of this subject which has held the attention of so many historical writers. Up to this time, however, no one seems to have studied it for what it was,—a deliberately planned attempt to regulate economic conduct by a nation. From a tremendous mass of notes and material accumulated in this country and England, the author has presented an informative and worthwhile deduction. The first part of the book deals with the origins of the laws; the second, with their enforcement in England; the third, with the same problem in the colonies; and the fourth, with the results accomplished. He has studied English shipping from the days of the Armada until well into the reign of Queen Victoria. Such an exhaustive work is a fine contribution to the understanding of the problems underlying our legislative experiments today, as before we have had no comprehensive study of the English Navigation Acts despite their importance in history. There have always been almost as many different opinions about their effects as there are economic historians who have studied the subject. Dr. Harper's book will interest economic historians, administrators and colonial historians. The appendices give much detail upon shipping, exports and duties, with a complete bibliography. An adequate index completes the book.

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VOL. LXXVI—OCTOBER, 1940

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COMPANION

The *Washington Chapter of Royal*
Arch Masons will meet at their Hall.
on Thursday evening next at 7 o'clock.

Your punctual attendance is requested
By direction of the Most Excellent
High Priest.

J. Webb Secretary.

SALEM,

Augth 26 1822

WASHINGTON ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER, NOTICE OF MEETING, 1822
TO JOHN HOWARD, Jr., SIGNED BY J. WEBB, Secretary

From Essex Institute Broadside Collection

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXVI

OCTOBER, 1940

No. 4

ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF ROYAL ARCH MASONRY IN SALEM AND VICINITY.

BY FRANK WIPPICH BALCOMB.

The problems of the historian are many and various. Shall he confine his remarks to a mere recitation of facts and figures — shall he recite the names of candidates, times of meetings, or shall he attempt to tell a vivid story of the history of the individuals and the difficulties surmounted in the past? It is my purpose to trace in a non-technical manner the story of the past one hundred twenty-five years.

The scene we look upon at this time, meeting as we are in this magnificent temple, is far different from that witnessed by Companions Robert Brookhouse, Edward Turner, and James King, at the birth of this Chapter. Before beginning this history, a few words about the events leading up to its establishment seem proper.

During some other research, the speaker came across the following letter¹ among the Curwen Manuscripts at the Essex Institute:

NOTE.—This address was delivered at the 125th anniversary of Washington Royal Arch Chapter, of which Mr. Balcomb is a Past High Priest, on January 9, 1936.

¹ Samuel Curwen, b. 1715, d. 1802, Harvard, 1735, son of Rev. George and Mehitable (Parkman) Curwen, was of the distinguished merchant family. Benjamin Gerrish, b. 1714, d. abt. 1759, Harvard, 1733, son of Benjamin and Abigail (Flint) Gerrish, was a merchant, and married Margaret Cabot. Capt. Thomas Poynton, an Englishman, merchant and master mari-

January 23, 1753

Brother Curwin:

Your attendance is desired at my House at 4 of ye clock this afternoon, where will be Brother Gerrish and Brother Pointon where we shall be able without Interruption to spend an hour or two agreeably together as Masons, and am

Your affectionate Bro. and

Humble Servant,

Jonathan Pue

Future research will have to explain the significance of this letter. It raises several pertinent questions, however. Why did the writer of this letter, a man who had been for several years a Past Master of St. John's Lodge of Boston, desire to converse with Brother Curwen of Salem on Masonic topics?

Is it not possible that the establishment of a lodge in Salem was the subject of their meeting? We do know, however, that thirteen years later, October 24, 1766, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts warranted a lodge in Salem to be called Salem Lodge. Who the brethren were who received this warrant, we have no record.² For the next two years, 1767 and 1768, the Grand Lodge records no representative present from this Lodge. In its correspondence is a record of a verbal report dated 1768 that

ner, lived on Brown street in the house with the pineapple doorway. Jonathan Pue, immortalized in Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, was from Boston, appointed surveyor of the Port of Salem in 1752 and died in office in 1760, in his 66th year. All were prominent in St. Peter's Church, Salem. Curwen and Poynton were Loyalists and fled to England during the Revolution.

² A volume in the Library of the Essex Institute, entitled "A Candid Disquisition of the Principles and Practices of the Most Antient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons," by Wellins Calcott, P. M., reprinted from a London edition by Bro. William M'Alpine, Boston, 1772, gives the following list of Essex County subscribers: FROM SALEM: George Abbot, Capt. Henry Higginson, Capt. David Mason, Capt. Israel Ober. FROM MARBLEHEAD: George McCall. FROM NEWBURY: Daniel Bailey, Moses Brown, William Cooper, Bulkeley Emerson, Simon Greenleaf, William Greenleaf, Michael Hodge, John Jenkins, Ebenezer Morrison, William Nichols, Isaac Green Pearson, Benjamin Perkins, Daniel Toppan, Edward Wigglesworth, William Wyer, Capt. Isaac Walker.

"No Stated Lodge Meets in the place." In 1779 came the establishment of Essex Lodge.

Prior to 1780, the following Lodges were in existence in this vicinity: Philanthropic of Marblehead, 1760; The Tyrian of Gloucester, 1770; United States of Danvers, 1778; Essex of Salem, 1779; Amity of Beverly, 1779; Unity of Ipswich, 1779. The existence of all of these lodges was precarious and all except Philanthropic of Marblehead were erased by vote of the Grand Lodge in 1788 for delinquency in Grand Lodge dues.

In 1811, the year of the founding of this chapter, George III was King of England, the Napoleonic Wars were at their height with Napoleon at the height of his power. James Madison was serving his first term as President of the United States, a country of seventeen states. The total population of the United States was less than that of New York City today. Salem was often referred to as the second capitol of the state. Its population at that time was 12,000. Its influence in many particulars exceeded that of Boston. Its merchant trade was most extensive.

Throughout our records, we sense the seafaring interests of the members, oftentimes reflected by the following quotation in the records: "The candidates being about to leave the country," and followed by the conferring of degrees at close intervals, even the Past, Most Excellent and Royal Arch degrees in one day! The harrassing of our commerce by British ships, which was to lead to war a year later, greatly upset the tenor of the times. Grand Chapter records show that on December 11, 1810, a petition for a Chapter at Salem was withdrawn due to informality. This defect was remedied, and on January 9, 1811, the Grand Chapter voted a dispensation, and this Chapter came into existence.

Robert Brookhouse, merchant, paid the fee of \$110 for the dispensation. Our debt to him is greater than money can express. Whether the debt was ever repaid to him financially is an open question. His many benefactions to Salem will long endure. His service in various offices in our Chapter covered many years, and although he never

presided over its deliberations, he did serve as Master of Essex Lodge in 1805. Washington Chapter members should never forget that this very temple in which we meet is erected on the site of his mansion.

Reverend Edward Turner, for five years the minister of the Universalist Church, was the second of the trio who petitioned for a charter. He was the first Most Excellent High Priest of the Chapter. Reverend William Bentley, pastor of the East Parish, and for a period Grand Chaplain of the Grand Chapter, whose four-volume diary is a veritable mine of information upon Salem happenings, was present at the consecration of this Chapter. Bentley was no admirer of Turner, and in his diary we find the following notation:

Upon his first coming to Salem, he was often in the Essex Lodge. The new establishment has now much more of his favor and he has interested many of our youth in it. The interest in these Associations impoverishes them and all their members and brings disgrace, especially when filled with Minors or very young men.

Despite Bentley's criticism, our first High Priest later became Grand Scribe of the Grand Chapter, and served for some years as Corresponding Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

The third member who composed the group was James Charles King, a clerk at and son of the cashier of the Essex Bank, Captain of the Salem Light Infantry, and Master of Essex Lodge the following year.

These three companions, Turner, King and Brookhouse, as Right Worshipful Master, Senior, and Junior Wardens respectively, opened a Lodge of Mark Master Masons on February 27, 1811, with John Hammatt, High Priest of St. Andrew's Chapter, present. The time between January 9 and February 27 doubtless was used in ritualistic instruction. We find later, the expression of the gratitude on the part of the Chapter to Excellent Companion Hammatt for his instruction.

I note here that both the Grand Chapter reprint of early proceedings and the table of dates of organization

of Chapters give January 15, 1811 as the date of the dispensation, but the copy of the dispensation at the beginning of the records gives January 9, 1811 as the date of the dispensation, making this anniversary fall upon the exact anniversary date. The business of the first meeting consisted of balloting for three candidates to receive the degree of Mark Master Mason. The ballot being favorable, they were advanced to that degree in the presence of the three officers and Instructor Hammatt. The next evening these same brothers, with one exception, were balloted to receive the Past Master's degree. Several succeeding evenings were devoted to advancing candidates and then these groups regularly passed the chair. More candidates were then marked and the whole group received the Most Excellent Master's degree together.

In groups of three, upon separate evenings, these candidates were exalted to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason. It is interesting to note that at the second Royal Arch Degree meeting, two of the candidates of the evening before were used as officers, also that as each group was exalted, they in turn became officers at later exaltations, and so continued until a full corps of officers existed. Balloting for each degree separately and separate application for membership was the custom in those days as well in the Chapter as in the Lodge. Many of the earlier candidates did not take membership, and we may find them recorded later as "visitors."

Washington Chapter was consecrated by the Grand Royal Arch Chapter on January 15, 1812. Henry Fowle, Deputy Grand High Priest, assisted by Henry Purkitt, Grand King, with Reverend and Excellent Companion, John Bartlett of Marblehead (never a member of this Chapter) as Grand Scribe. Among the visitors was Right Worshipful Andrew Nichols, first Master of Jordan Lodge, who seven years later became an active member and worked hard many years later as a petitioner for its reinstitution. Brother Briggs, Senior Warden of Philanthropic Lodge, was another visitor.

The number of members for early years was never large. The usual attendance recorded for the first few

years, except at installations and on special occasions, averaged fifteen to twenty companions. At installations it was customary to invite the members of neighboring lodges. The custom followed for many years required the outgoing High Priest to install his successor, then the newly installed High Priest would install all other officers.

This Chapter was a local institution for many years. For the first five years not a single member other than a resident of Salem was admitted. The first outsider to be admitted was Doctor Joseph Shed of South Danvers (now Peabody), who was admitted in 1816. He served for a time as Secretary and his records are a fine example of such work. Several of these pages are upon exhibition at this time. The same year another resident of Danvers was admitted. Two years later, Ezra Mudge of Lynn became a member.

In 1821, John Traill of Marblehead was admitted. He was the first member of Philanthropic Lodge to become a member of this Chapter. It is interesting to note that although the Chapter was located in Salem, with Danvers three or four miles away in one direction, Marblehead the same distance in another, and Beverly only two miles distant, that no Beverly Mason applied for membership until nineteen years after the organization of this Chapter. Possibly the explanation of this long period with so few members from either Beverly or Marblehead is two-fold: (1) the depression following the War of 1812; (2) the large number of Masons in these two towns who were captains and officers upon American privateers. I say this without attempting to settle whether the American Navy was born in Beverly or Marblehead!

It is fair to spend a moment noting the efforts of John Traill in behalf of Royal Arch Masonry in Marblehead. He served as Master of the Second Veil and King (two years) of this Chapter. Largely through his efforts St. Luke's Chapter of Marblehead received a dispensation from the Grand Chapter June 1, 1826. A list of officers of St. Luke's Chapter reveals the following who had received their degrees in this Chapter: John Traill, High Priest; Josiah P. Cressey, King; I. Story, Scribe; Joseph

W. Greene, Royal Arch Captain; Nathaniel L. Hooper, Treasurer; David Blaney, Captain of the Host; Joseph P. Turner, Principal Sojourner; Samuel Bowden, Master of the First Veil.

St. Luke's Chapter was consecrated May 11, 1827. It existed only four years. The surrender of its charter was accompanied by the following explanation: "In making this request they wish it to be understood distinctly that it is not from the least indisposition to the cause for few have given or do now give greater proof of devotion and fidelity to it, but they are compelled by their absolute inability to sustain the expense of it." We hear once more of St. Luke's Chapter. On March 3, 1853, at its reinstitution Washington Chapter petitioned the Grand Chapter for the loan of portions of the regalia of St. Luke's Chapter which petition was granted.

From the time of its organization, until the present, Thursday seems to have been the day of meeting. Regular convocations were held on the Thursday on or preceding the full of the moon, with the annual meeting on the first Thursday in January. The usual hour of meeting was five o'clock in the winter, and six o'clock in the summer. Meetings were held throughout the entire year. At the April, 1811, meeting, immediately after balloting for candidates, the cry of "Fire" was heard in the streets; and to quote from the records, "the Chapter was closed without form until special notification." At the September meeting in 1828 four were present. This small attendance is explained in the records that the town was celebrating its 200th anniversary. We find a century later still another meeting with a handful present and the notation that the 300th anniversary of the founding of Salem was being observed in the city.

The hall at Wakefield Place (site of the Hawthorne Hotel) was far from an ideal meeting place, and we find frequent reference to the need "for greater security of the Chapter." After nearly two years of negotiations, the records state that the committee was successful in having an additional door placed "at the entrance to the entry." The March, 1815, meeting records as a visitor

one Benjamin Smith "late a prisoner of war." This incident recalls that period in the Masonic history of Salem, dealing with prisoners of the War of 1812, and their appeal to the Masons of Salem and vicinity, together with their treatment by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

During the first year, Thomas Cole,³ who later became High Priest, was sent to Boston to get the lectures of the Chapter from the Companions there, thus supplanting Excellent Companion Hammatt as instructor. Reverend Abner Kneeland of Charlestown requested the degrees in 1812, which he received gratis. Why he did not apply to St. Andrew's Chapter of Boston is not mentioned. However, the rapidity with which he severed his connection with the Chapter at the beginning of the anti-Masonic period is commented upon rather sharply in the records.

Three curious records follow: April 1817, "Chapter met and nobody there." May 1817, "Met as above." June 1817, "Balloted for and gave Samuel Smith the Mark Degree. He had previously received the Past, Most Excellent and Royal Arch Degrees." We have no record of how or where these were conferred. In 1819, it was "voted to procure some jewels for this Chapter wherein they were deficient." At the public installation in 1820 members of Essex, Philanthropic, Jordan, Unity, Tyrian and Mt. Carmel Lodges were present. Companion Benjamin L. Oliver, Esq., delivered an address, which was deemed worthy to be printed and was printed at the expense of the Salem Masons. I have read the copy now preserved in the Essex Institute. As the anti-Masonic sentiment grew stronger, fewer candidates applied for the degrees and fewer meetings were held, and often the motion was made to adjourn for three months unless business demanded meetings at closer intervals.

Finances have always been a problem with this Chapter. Although today with some income from a Permanent Fund, the problem still exists, one can appreciate how much more difficult it was with no such fund and "quar-

³ Thomas Cole, b. Boston, 1779, Harvard, 1798, teacher and active member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, excelling in microscopy, d. 1852.

And the **DARKNESS** comprehended it not.
In the **EAST** a place of LIGHT where reigns SILENCE & PEACE.

We the Master, Wardens, and Secretary, of
The Amity LODGE held in the TOWN of
Beverly and State of Massachusetts
Do Certify that the BEARER hereof our worthy
BROTHER Hale Hilton Has been regularly
initiated in to the Third degree of Masonry.
As such He has been received by Us: And being a true &
faithful **BROTHER** is hereby recommended to the Favour
and Protection of ALL Free and Accepted MASONS
wheresoever dispersed. In witness whereof we have
caus'd the Seal of our said Lodge to be hereunto affix'd,
this 29th day of May Salvation 1780
and of Masonry 5780

John Stacey M.
N. Greenwood SW
John Dodge JW
Will^m Leech Secy

Printed & sold opposite Liberty Bump BOSTON

DIPLOMA GIVEN BY AMITY LODGE OF BEVERLY TO HALE HILTON, 1780
John Stacey, Master, N. Greenwood, S. W., John Dodge, J. W., William Leech, Secretary

From Essex Institute Broadside Collection

terages" of twenty-five cents, in other words, one dollar a year per member as dues. As only one hundred thirty-five candidates were exalted in the first twenty-four years of its existence, and many of these never took membership in the Chapter, its financial problems can readily be understood. As early as 1814 we find a debt of \$114.92 recorded.

By 1829, the funds were so reduced that we find the following vote recorded:

That it is expedient for this Chapter to give, in the fees for membership, the price of Diploma, and two year's dues to such candidates as may apply within one year from this time; and to give a credit of one year on ten dollars of the R. A. fees,—it being guaranteed by some member of the Chapter—; this provision not to extend beyond the one year, unless renewed by a vote, and not to go into effect unless three candidates present themselves.

At the next meeting December 10, 1829, three applications were received. These were the first in nineteen months and proved to be the last for twenty-three years. Matters were rapidly going from bad to worse. The meetings were held in the ante-room which was hired at a rental of \$40.00 per year, leasee to furnish fuel and light. A vote in May, 1831, to meet next in October, then only four meetings in 1832, January, March, April, November, at the last which the following vote was taken:

That all the funds now in the hands of the treasurer, all sums which may hereafter be received on the present demands, together with all the right and interest which this Chapter holds in the furniture of the Hall, be surrendered to Essex Lodge on condition that the Lodge assume the responsibilities which the Messers Chase now hold against these associations unitedly.

That the same committee have power to make all transfers of stock or other securities; and to do and perform all other acts which may be necessary to carry into effect the foregoing vote.

That the regular meetings of this Chapter be suspended until the time of the regular meeting which shall occur in January of the year 1834; and that the payment of the dues

from the members of Chapter which shall accrue during that period be remitted.

It appears that no further meetings of the Chapter were held until Tuesday evening, March 17, 1835. At that meeting on motion of Companion Peabody it was voted:—

That the regalia, together with all the Masonic furniture of Washington Royal Arch Chapter, be placed at the disposal of the following trustees viz: Joseph G. Sprague, Joseph Eveleth, Ferdinand Andrews, Benjamin F. Brown, and Francis Peabody, to be sold at such time as they may consider judicious. The amount after paying the just dues of the Chapter to be paid over to the Trustees of the property of Essex Lodge.

Voted: That the trunk containing the Records, Seal, and Papers of this Chapter together with the Charter, be committed to the care of the High Priest, and by him to be deposited in the vault of some Bank for safe keeping.

The Chapter was then closed. The Trunk and Ark (certain characters thereon having been previously obliterated) containing the Records, Seal and Papers,—as well as the Keystone, three silver and three ebony Squares, the Jewels, Pot of Incense, a copper plate, Aprons, etc., were deposited in the vault of the Naumkeag Bank, the High Priest being then, and for some sixteen years thereafter, cashier thereof.

Thus ended the first phase of our history. For seventeen years and a half, Washington Chapter ceased to exist. After this interval, the spirit of persecution having died away, eleven companions who were formerly members, petitioned the Grand Chapter for a charter and a duplicate of the former Charter was given them in 1852, "but taking rank and precedence from the date of the original Charter." It was necessary that a duplicate Charter be issued as the original could not be found among the papers of the Chapter or in the records and archives of the Grand Chapter. The first meeting following its reinstitution was held on October 29, 1852, and we find the note in the records that the funeral of Daniel Webster was held upon

this day. Our monthly notices show Stephen Lovell as one of our Past High Priests. This is incorrect; he was never a member of this Chapter, but as Grand High Priest presided over the meetings of organization until the newly-elected officers were installed.

The report of the recovery of the old Charter is noted in the 1853 records. Half a century later (November, 1903) the semi-centennial of the recovery of the Charter was celebrated with an appropriate entertainment and ladies' night. The following explains the loss and recovery of the old Charter:

Upon the death of P. H. P. Joseph G. Sprague, his property was sold at auction by Shepard and Archer, auctioneers; among the effects, was a barrel of maps and other papers, apparently of little value which was left at the close of the sale. Some months afterward, Mr. Shepard, returning from a military muster on Salem Neck, met the writer of this, Samuel Butterick a P. H. P., and he knowing by common report that he was a Mason, hailed him and informed him that he had found in a barrel, a roll of paper which he imagined to be of importance to somebody, perhaps to a Mason. I told him I was the person who should have the custody of the Charter of Washington R. A. Chapter (long lost, now found) and related to him its history, and he, in a day or two, returned it to me in as good condition as before.

The first years following its reinstitution were again discouraging. We find the Chapter meeting again in the ante-room and its meetings were held quarterly. The companions were not idle or lacking in industry, however, and by 1855 we find six candidates receiving the Mark Degree. From this on, the steady growth of the Chapter continued. Such normal growth has continued to the present. In the period from 1915-22, its rate of growth was considerably greater than at other times, and we find in five different years candidates numbering forty-six, forty-five, thirty-seven, thirty-five, and twenty-nine.

In 1860, the Chapter as a unit participated in the ceremonies of laying of the cornerstone of the Boston Masonic Temple. We find records of visits to surrounding Chap-

ters as far distant as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and also many return visits. Grand High Priests have visited this Chapter in 1888, 1911, 1924, and at this meeting (1936).

The interest of Masons in this vicinity in Royal Arch Masonry is shown by eight chapters now where for over fifty years Washington Chapter existed alone. These newer Chapters have been formed largely by members of Washington Chapter. They are: Sutton Chapter of Lynn, 1863; William Ferson Chapter of Gloucester, 1870; Amity Chapter of Beverly, 1872; Holten Chapter of Danvers, 1872 (both of the above chartered the same day); Ipswich Chapter of Ipswich, 1910; Swampscott Chapter of Swampscott, 1919; Henry J. Mills Chapter of Saugus, 1919 (formed by members from Sutton Chapter).

Nearly twenty-three hundred companions have carried the banner of Royal Arch Masonry, unfurled one hundred twenty-five years ago by the three companions, Turner, King, and Brookhouse.

Of the five Chapters in Massachusetts chartered before Washington, two remain. St. Andrew's of Boston and King Cyrus of Newburyport. (Mount Vernon Chapter of Portland, I believe, is still in existence as Number One of the Grand Chapter of Maine.) St. John's Chapter of Groton and King Solomon's of Charlton ceased to exist in 1842.

In its long history, several of its Past High Priests have received recognition and distinction by the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Massachusetts. Two of its Past High Priests have served as Grand Lecturers: R. E. Arthur T. Way; E. George W. Blynn. One of its Past High Priests, Most Excellent James Kimball, served as Grand High Priest from 1859 to 1861. Two have served as Deputy Grand High Priest: R. E. James C. King, 1814-1815; R. E. Arthur T. Way, 1898.

During the entire term of Right Excellent Companion Way as Deputy Grand High Priest, the Grand High Priest was ill, and the entire Grand Chapter affairs were conducted by him. He also represented the Grand Chapter of Massachusetts at the Centennial Celebrations of the

Grand Chapters of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York. Whatever the circumstances were, when the election of the next Grand High Priest was in order, he was not advanced to the office and honors of Grand High Priest, although he had officiated as such for an entire year. Two have served as Grand King: R. E. James C. King, 1816-1817; R. E. Henry Whipple, 1823. The following have held the office of Grand Scribe: R. E. Edward Turner, 1812 (our first High Priest); M. E. James Kimball, 1858; R. E. Charles H. Norris, 1868; R. E. Alonzo H. Smith, 1892 (father of our senior living P. H. P.).

It seems most fitting upon this, our 125th anniversary, that we should have the honor of welcoming again a permanent member of the Grand Chapter from among the ranks of our own Past High Priests. It has been thirty-eight years since Washington Chapter has had that privilege. We are pleased to honor and congratulate our own Past High Priest, Right Excellent Edward I. Walkley, upon being elevated to the position of Grand King of the Grand Royal Chapter of Massachusetts.

The following have served as High Priests of Washington Chapter:

Edward Turner, 1811; James C. King, 1812; Thomas Cole, 1815; Henry Whipple, 1818; Joseph G. Sprague, 1820; Amos Clark, 1824; Thomas Cole, 1825; Joseph F. Sprague, 1827; Benjamin F. Brown, 1827; Henry Whipple, 1831; Joseph G. Sprague, 1832; Samuel B. Buttrick, 1852; Robert H. Forrant, 1853; Augustus Towne, 1853; James Kimball, 1855; William L. Batchelder, 1858; H. H. F. Whittemore, 1860; James Kimball, 1863; William C. Maywell, 1865; Charles H. Norris, 1866; Israel S. Lee, 1869; Robert Chase, 1871; John J. Coker, 1872; Thomas J. Hutchinson, 1875; George E. Plummer, 1878; Henry C. Torr, 1881; Alonzo H. Smith, 1882; Oliver D. Way, 1885; Horace N. Smith, 1887; Otis W. Roberts, 1889; Ezra L. Browne, 1891; Arthur T. Way, 1893; Benj. Cole, Jr., 1895; Ira Vaughn, 1897; Thomas G. Pinnock, 1898; George P. Graves, 1900;

Charles C. Dodge, 1902; George S. Goss, 1904; Albert F. Smith, 1906; Charles Goodwin, 1908; Arthur S. Adams, 1911; Frederick E. Warner, 1912; George W. Blinn, 1914; Fred. A. Norton, 1916; Charles M. Duren, 1917; Ernest P. Lane, 1918; Ralph O. Russell, 1919; Walter L. Williams, 1920; Frederick P. Willard, 1921; Edward I. Walkley, 1922; Cassius S. Cilley, 1923; Theodore B. Marsh, 1924; Clarence F. Ray, 1925; Lewis W. Dawes, 1926; Joseph C. Chandler, 1927; J. Edwin Austin, 1928; E. Lawrence Howie, 1929; Frederic W. Full, 1930; Lewis N. Carter, 1931; Lewis Doane, 1932; E. Lewis Homan, 1933; Frank W. Balcomb, 1934; John J. Collins, 1935; Carlton A. Healey, 1936; Hatherly A. Stoddard, Jr., 1937; John C. LeBeau, 1938; George W. Curtis, 1939.

The following, in addition to those mentioned, were members of the Chapter, before 1831, the time of the anti-Masonic disturbances:

FROM SALEM: John Sanders, Joseph Baker, John Norris, Abel Lawrence, Jr., George Dean, Joseph G. Sprague, John Howard, Jr., Thomas Oakes, Nathaniel Peabody, Joshua Oakes, Joseph Eveleth, Enoch Dow, Nathan Blood, John Peabody, John Albree, Samuel Tucker, Dana Lewis, Thomas Witt, Henry Whipple, F. H. Boardman, Ebenezer C. Stoddard, Jere. Peabody, Nathaniel F. Safford, Nathaniel Page, Benjamin Day, Ephraim Abbott, George A. Ward, Samuel W. Phelps, Samuel B. Derby, Rev. Thomas Carlile, William H. Bott, Josiah B. Andrews, Joseph A. Peabody, William Lummus, Rev. Amos Clark, Benjamin Mather, Franklin H. Story, Rev. B. Streeter, Jonathan Webb, Jr., Jesse Smith, Jr., John Simon, William W. Palfrey, P. I. Farnham, Samuel Simonds, H. T. Whittredge, Francis Peabody, William Gavett, C. G. Pickman, Abel Hersey, Joseph Hodges, Mark Kimball, P. E. Webster, Benjamin F. Browne, Rev. H. W. Duchacet, Jonathan Merrill, Jesse Fillmore, Benjamin Wheatland, Ferdinand Andrews, Elijah Foster, George W. Cheney, Amos P. Wilkins, Benjamin G. Pickman, Malthus A. Ward, Cornelius

Baker, John Baker, Jewett Maxfield, Samuel B. Buttrick, Samuel Dowst, John W. Pepper, Nathaniel Pitman. FROM DANVERS: Jesse Putnam, Sylvester Proctor, Solomon Macintire, Andrew Nichols, Levi Preston, John Frost, Jonathan Barrett, Andrew Torr, Rev. Arthur Drinkwater. FROM LYNN: Ezra Mudge, William Badger, Legree Johnson. FROM MARBLEHEAD: John Traill, Nathaniel L. Hooper, Joseph W. Green, Isaac Story, I. H. Brown, Joseph Gregory. FROM BEVERLY: Josiah P. Cressey, Stephens Baker, J. D. Edwards, Benjamin Pierce, Isaac Hoyt, David Roberts, William Thissell.

DERBY SILVER.

Dr	Capt Rich ^d Derby to James Turner	Cr
	By Silver 49 ^{oz} —19 ^{dwt}	_____
To a Tankard	28:10:12	
To a p ^r of Cans	26 14:—	

	55: 4:12	
	49:19: 0	

To overplus Silver	5: 5:12 at 4 £	10:11:0
To the Makeing & Engraving y ^e Tank ^d	15: 0—0	
To Making & Engraving y ^e Cans	— 15: 0—0	

	£40:11 0	
Boston Oct ^r 22 ^d 1746	Errors Excepted	
	p ^r James Turner	

IMPRESSMENT OF AMERICAN SEAMEN BY THE BRITISH.

BY CLEMENT CLEVELAND SAWTELL.

IMPRESSMENT AS SEEN BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

Such was the shortage of seamen during the Napoleonic Wars that the captain of a British vessel of war, about to start on a voyage, was usually hard put to it to man his ship. Armed with press gang warrants authorizing the seizure of British subjects for the service, regardless of their walk in life, the ship's lieutenants would scour the waterfront, and all were fish that came in their net.* Some they took from the jails, some from the taverns, and some from incoming merchantmen. Even then the ship's complement was usually short, and it was necessary to board ships on the high sea,¹ muster their crews, and seize what men they could to man the British navy. Many American seamen were taken in this way on the pretense of their being British,² even when they were able to produce evidence of their true citizenship. Some, to be sure, were released, when impressed on shore, where application could be made to a magistrate,³ but when impressment occurred at sea the victim seldom fared so well, and, unless he managed to escape in port, remained an involuntary sailor of the King for some years.

Successive administrations from the time of Washington took official cognizance of the abuse and made fruitless efforts to correct it. Silas Talbot, agent for the relief of impressed seamen, wrote to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State in 1797, on the subject:

Kingston, July 4, 1797

Admiral Sir Hyde having gained information, that my applications to the civil authorities, to obtain the release of such American citizens as were found to be detained on

* See Note 23.

board his majesty's ships of war, had been attended with some success, he immediately issued a general order to all captains and commanders of ships and vessels of war, directing them not to obey any writ of habeas corpus, nor suffer any men to leave their ships in consequence of any such writ. Since the above mentioned order was issued writs have been obtained against Captain Elphinstone of the *Tartar*⁴ frigate, to produce three Americans, named in the writ, before the chief justice; and against Captain Foster, of the *Albicore*,⁴ to produce four; and also, against Captain Otway, of the *Ceres* frigate,⁵ to produce twenty Americans, in like manner before the chief justice. All those writs were served, but none of them obeyed. Attachments against the said captains have been ordered by the court; and a writ of attachment against Captain Otway was taken out fifteen days since. But the marshal has not been able, as he says, to serve it on Captain Otway; and from all that I can learn, there is not any probability that he will serve the writ; so that the law in this island, it seems, cannot be administered for the relief of American citizens, who are held in British slavery; many of whom, as they write to me from on board captain Otway's ship, have been brought to the gangway, and whipped, for writing to their agent to get them discharged.

Twenty seamen, who would be difficult to replace, were obviously more important to Admiral Sir Hyde than good relations between his country and a weak neutral,⁶ so he snapped his fingers at the civil authorities and held his crew intact.

In the same year Rufus King, writing from London to our Secretary of State, expresses surprise at the number of impressment cases:

London, April 13 1797

The subject (of impressment) in all its details, has come under my observation: and its importance, I confess, is much greater than I had supposed it. Instead of a few, and these in many instances equivocal cases, I have, since the month of July last, made application for the discharge from British men of war of 271 seamen, who, stating themselves to be Americans, have claimed my interference: of this number 86 have by the admiralty been ordered to be discharged; 37 more have been detained as British subjects, or as American volunteers, or for want of proof that they are Americans:

and to my applications for the discharge of the remaining 148, I have received no answer; the ships on board of which these seamen were detained, having, in many instances, sailed before an examination was made, in consequence of my applications.

It is certain that some of those who have applied to me, are not American citizens. But the exceptions are in my opinion few: and the evidence, exclusive of certificates, has been such as in most instances to satisfy me that the applicants were real Americans, who had been forced into the British service; and who with singular constancy have generally persevered in refusing pay and bounty, though in many instances they have been in service more than two years.

While Rufus King was more successful in his mission than Silas Talbot, he nevertheless encountered unsurmountable obstacles before he had gone very far, as his letter shows. Impressment of American seamen, meanwhile, continued unabated. With the project of additions to the Jay treaty in 1800 Timothy Pickering considered the moment ripe to come to an understanding with Great Britain on this thorn of contention and wrote President Adams objecting in no uncertain terms to the British proposal:

Feb. 20, 1800

The secretary has the honour to lay before the president Mr. Liston's note of the 4th February, together with his project of a treaty for reciprocal delivery of deserters; which appears to the secretary utterly inadmissible, unless it would put an end to impressments — which Mr. Liston seemed to imagine — while the seventh paragraph of his project expressly recognizes the right of impressing British subjects, and consequently American citizens as at present.

In spite of Mr. Pickering's forceful view nothing came of the matter. The British listened politely to the long series of representations which followed from Washington and left them unheeded. The War of 1812 which came in their wake was fought in part over impressment, and Mr. Monroe sought to put an end to it, once for all, with the Treaty of Ghent.⁷ In support of this contention

we have his letter of April 15, 1813, to our ministers, which says:

Upon the whole subject I have to observe, that your first duty will be to conclude a peace with Great Britain, and that you are authorized to do it, in case you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which shall secure, under our flag, protection to the crew.

Other letters might be cited to illustrate the official American view of the matter, but those quoted appear sufficiently to establish the fact that impressment was an important issue for some years before the outbreak of the War.

DEPOSITIONS OF IMPRESSED SEAMEN.

More colorful evidence is to be found in the depositions of the impressed seamen themselves. One has only to turn back to such works as *The Olive Branch*, published by Henry C. Carey at Philadelphia in 1814, or the reports of various Congressional Committees. Some of them are to the point, as they give the background of popular sentiment of the times.

Let our first witness be Eliphalet Ladd of Exeter, New Hampshire, one time second mate of the *Thomas and Sarah* of Philadelphia:

Kingston, July 19, 1799

Eliphalet Ladd maketh oath that Wednesday, the 12th inst. he came on shore with two seamen belonging to said ship, named John Edes and Isreal Randol, in order to land a boat load of staves; that a press gang came up and laid hold of John Edes—that one of the press gang named Moody, with a broad sword cut this deponent on the forehead, and made a wound of three inches. They then took deponent, together with Edes, and conducted them in different boats on board the *Brunswick* man of war; that the boat on board of which Edes was, made the ship some little time before the one deponent was in: and on deponents nearing the ship, he heard the cries of a man flogging, and on going up the side of the *Brunswick*, he perceived Edes who was crying; and addressing himself to the first lieutenant, a Mr. Har-

ris, saying, here is a man, who can attest to what I have told you. The lieutenant then laying hold of deponent by the arm, said, go along on the quarter deck, you damned rascal; which deponent accordingly did; that all the impressed men were then examined, and afterwards ordered by the lieutenant into the waist; that when they got there, Edes pulled off his shirt, and showed deponent his back, which was bruised from his shoulders to his hips. He then informed he had been just whipped with ropes ends, as deponent was going up the ship's sides, by the boatswain and his mates by orders of the lieutenant; that deponent remained on board the *Brunswick* all that day and the next night, during which time no surgical or medical assistance was given to the wound he had received on his head, nor to the bruises of the said Edes, who during the night called out several times from extreme pains, and the next morning was barely able to move himself; that between nine and ten o'clock the next morning, the whole of the impressed men were again ordered on the quarter deck and stationed, except deponent and Edes; that while the examination was going on, the captain of the *Thomas and Sarah* was coming on board; but was prevented by the lieutenant, who ordered the centinel to keep him off; that about eleven o'clock the captain of the *Brunswick* came on board, and at three o'clock deponent was discharged, but Edes retained.

Eliphalet Ladd

Eliphalet Ladd must have proved his American citizenship to the entire satisfaction of his captors, otherwise his testimony would doubtless be unavailable today, and he was released, albeit, in a slightly damaged state. There is no reason to doubt his statement which appears to reflect the experience of others similarly situated.

We shall now call Isaac Clark of Salem and let him take the stand:

I, Isaac Clark, of Salem in the county of Essex, and the commonwealth of Massachusetts, on solemn oath declare, that I was born in the Town of Randolph, in the county of Norfolk; have sailed out of Salem aforesaid, about seven years; that on the 14th day of June, 1809, I was impressed and forcibly taken from the ship *Jane* of Norfolk, by the sailing master (his name was Car) of his majesty's ship *Porcupine*, Robert Elliot, commander. I had a protection⁸

from the Custom-house in Salem, which I showed to captain Elliot: he swore that I was an Englishman, tore my protection to pieces before my eyes, and threw it overboard, and ordered me to go to work — I told him I did not belong to his flag, and I would do no work under it. He then ordered my legs to be put in irons, and the next morning ordered the master at arms to take me on deck, and give me two dozen lashes;⁹ after receiving them, he ordered him to keep me in irons, and give me one biscuit and one pint of water for 24 hours. After keeping me in this situation for one week, I was brought on deck and asked by captain Elliot if I would go to my duty — on my refusing, he ordered me to strip, tied me up a second time, and gave me two dozen more and kept me on the same allowance another week — then ordered me on deck again, and asked if I would go to work; I still persisted that I was an American, and that he had no right to command my services, and I would do no work on board his ship — He told me he would punish me until I was willing to work; and gave me the third two dozen lashes, ordered a very heavy chain put round my neck, (such as they had used to sling the lower yard¹⁰) fastened to a ringbolt in the deck, and that no person, except the master at arms, should speak to me, or give me any thing to eat or drink, but my one biscuit and pint of water for 24 hours, until I would go to work. I was kept in this situation for nine weeks, when being exhausted by hunger and thirst, I was obliged to yield. After being on board the ship more than two years and a half, and being wounded in an action with a French frigate, I was sent to the hospital — when partially recovered, I was sent on board the *Impregnable*, a 98 gun ship. My wound growing worse, I was returned to the hospital, when the American consul received a copy of my protection from Salem, and procured my discharge on the 29th day of April last. There were seven impressed Americans on board the *Porcupine*, three of whom had entered,

Isaac Clark

Essex, ss — December 23 1812

Then Isaac Clark personally appeared and made solemn oath that the facts in the foregoing declaration, by him made and subscribed, were true in all their parts — before

John Punchard,) Justices of the
M. Townsend,) peace and of the
quorum

Thus, a Salem man served the Royal Navy and came close to laying down his life for the British cause. The fact that he was finally released when a pensioner, on no better evidence than a copy of the passport he originally presented to Captain Elliot, seems inadequate compensation; he was, however, spared one indignity, that of being obliged to fight against his own country.

We have heard from a New Hampshire man, a Massachusetts man, and for the sake of impartiality we may as well summon a New Yorker. Here, then, is Richard Thompson of New Paltz:

Dutchess county, ss.

Richard Thompson, being sworn, saith that he is a native of New Paltz, opposite Poughkeepsie; that he sailed from Wilmington about the 28th of April, 1810, on board the brig *Warren*, William Kelly, captain, for Cork. On the homeward passage, in September following, he was impressed and taken on board the *Peacock*, a British sloop of war, and compelled to do duty. That while on board that vessel he made many unsuccessful attempts to write to his friends to inform them of his situation. He further saith, that after he had heard of the war, himself and two other impressed American seamen, who were on board the *Peacock*, went aft to the captain, claimed to be considered as American prisoners of war, and refused to do duty any longer. They were ordered off the quarter deck, and the captain called for the master at arms, and ordered us to be put in irons; we were kept in irons about twenty four hours, when we were taken out, brought to the gangway, stripped of our clothes, tied and whipped, each one dozen and a half lashes, and put to duty.

He further saith that he was kept on board the *Peacock*, and did duty, till the action with the *Hornet*; after the *Hornet* hoisted American colors, he and the other impressed Americans again went to the captain¹¹ of the *Peacock*, asked to be sent below said it was an American ship, and that they did not wish to fight against their country. The captain ordered us to our quarters; called midshipman Stone to do his duty;¹² and if we did not do our duty, to blow our brains out; "aye, aye!" was answered by Stone, who then held a pistol at my head, and ordered us to our places. We then continued at our pieces, and were compelled to

fight till the Peacock struck: and we were liberated after an impressment of about two years and eight months.

his
Richard X Thompson
mark

Poughkeepsie, April 17, 1813.

Read over and signed in the presence of

Joseph Harris

John S. Frear

As a prisoner of war, Richard Thompson had no grounds for complaint over being clapped into irons, but his subsequent treatment was not justified;¹³ even Captain Dacres of the *Guerriere* permitted the impressed Americans to go below when his ship engaged the *Constitution*.

For sheer grit and remarkable spirit we commend James Tompkins, another New Yorker, and his comrades, and, if it pleases the court, James Tompkins will take the stand:

Dutchess County, ss.

James Tompkins, being sworn, saith, that he is a native of Ulster county, opposite Poughkeepsie; that he sailed out of New York in the month of April, 1812, in the ship *Minerva*, bound for Ireland; that on her homeward passage, in July after, this deponent, with three other American seamen, Samuel Davis, William Young, and John Brown, were impressed and taken on board of the British ship *Acteon*,¹⁴ David Smith, captain. We were taken on Saturday evening; on Monday morning we were brought to the gangway and informed we must enter on board the ship and live as other seamen, or we should live on oatmeal and water and receive five dozen lashes. This deponent says, himself and the other three impressed with him did refuse to enter, and each of them were whipped five dozen lashes. On Wednesday following, we were again all brought up and had the same offer made us to enter, which we refused, and we were again whipped four dozen lashes each. On Saturday after, the like offer was made to us, and on our refusal we were again whipped three dozen lashes each. On Wednesday following we were again whipped one dozen each, and ordered to be taken below, and put in irons till we did enter; and the captain said he would punish the damned Yankee ras-

cals till they did enter. We were then put in irons and laid in irons three months. During the time of our impressment the ship had an action and captured a French ship. Before this action we were taken out of irons and asked to fight, but refused; and after the action we were again ironed, where we remained till the ship arrived at London. After arriving there we first heard of the war with America and that the *Guerrier* was taken. This deponent took his shirt, Samuel Davis and William Young took their handkerchiefs, made stripes and stars, and hung it over a gun, and gave three cheers for the victory. The next morning at six o'clock we were brought up and whipped two dozen lashes each for huzzaing for the Yankey flag. Shortly after this, we were all released by the assistance of the America consul and captain Hall, who knew us.

This deponent further saith, that all had protections, and showed them, and claimed to be Americans at the time they were impressed.¹⁵

JAMES TOMPKINS

Sworn before me this 17th day of April, 1813, at which time the said James Tompkins shewed me his wrists, which at his request I examined, and there appeared to be marks on both of them, occasioned, as I suppose, from his having been in irons.

Wm. W. BOGARDUS.

Justice of the Peace

The depositions of these men are not advanced as a model of composition, but merely as unvarnished evidence. If they read like a "Yellow Journal" or a "Penny Dreadful," so do the pages of any court reporter, and they are not to be rejected on that score. Doubtless, in this testimony, some of the details are embellished, as a story seldom fails to improve with frequent telling, but the framework appears valid, and that is all that can be asked.

James Fenimore Cooper in his *Naval History of the United States*, while speaking of the reluctance of seamen to serve in the British navy, indulges in similar "Yellow Journalism." He relates the following incident which occurred on board the American frigate *Essex*, when she was in a British port in 1811:

It was accidentally ascertained that one of the *Essex's* crew was a deserter from a British man-of-war, and he was formally demanded. Being within the jurisdiction of Great Britain, Capt. Smith, an officer of great spirit and of a high reputation in the service, did not feel himself justified in refusing to deliver up the seaman. The man protested that he was an American, and that he had not entered voluntarily into the English service, though he did not deny his identity and the desertion. It being thought impossible to protect him, the seaman was sent below to get his clothes, and obeyed. On reaching the gun-deck, his eye fell upon the carpenter's bench, and going to it, he seized an axe, and at one blow cut off his left hand. Taking up the severed limb in the remaining hand, he went upon the quarter-deck, and presented himself to the British officer, bleeding and maimed. The latter left the *Essex*, shocked and astonished, while the affair made a deep impression on all who witnessed it.

Mr. Cooper does not give the source of his information, however, it will be recalled that he was at one time a midshipman in the United States Navy, and it is quite possible that he had the story from an eye witness. In any event it illustrates the difficulty of getting clear of the British Navy, once a man was impressed, and the danger of being claimed as a deserter who might be hung from a yard arm.¹⁶

ESTIMATES OF THE EXTENT OF IMPRESSMENT OF AMERICANS.

The actual number of American seamen impressed by the British will never be known, nor the number of Americans serving in the British Navy at any one time, either prior to, or, during the War of 1812, as no adequate records appear to have been kept. A study of all the log books deposited with the British Admiralty should throw further light on the subject, but again the record would prove incomplete as many logs and journals went down with their ships and never reached London. Numerous estimates have, nevertheless, been made by our consuls abroad, our naval officers, legislative committees and others with no conclusive results.

William Cobbet, in his *Register*, speaking of American impressments, refers to one of the higher estimates:

. . . Americans have been thus impressed, and great numbers of them are now in our navy. The total number so held at any one time cannot, perhaps, be ascertained; but from a statement published in America, it appears, that Mr. Lyman, the late consul here stated the number, about two years ago, at FOURTEEN THOUSAND.

Commodore Rodgers also hints at a great number of cases in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy:

U. S. Frigate President,
Boston, January 14, 1813

Sir — Herewith you will receive two muster books, of his Britannic majesty's vessels, *Moselle* and *Sappho*,¹⁷ found on board the British packet, *Swallow*.

As the British have always denied that they detained on board their ships of war American citizens, knowing them to be such, I send you the enclosed, as a public document of their own, to prove how ill such an assertion accords with their practice.

It will appear by these two muster books that so late as August last, about an eighth part of the *Moselle* and *Sappho's* crews were Americans: consequently, if there is only a quarter part of that proportion on board their other vessels, they have an infinitely greater number of Americans in their service than any American has yet had an idea of.

Any further comment of mine on this subject, I consider unnecessary; as the enclosed documents speak too plainly for themselves.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JNO. RODGERS

The honourable Paul Hamilton,
Secretary of the Navy.

Of the crew of the *Guerriere*, numbering 293 men and boys, 18 were found to be impressed Americans, when the ship was taken by the *Constitution*. In other words, about six per cent of her men belonged to the American flag. Six per cent may not seem a very large proportion, but, if this ratio of impressed Americans held for the

British Navy as a whole, the aggregate would be substantial. In 1812, according to James, the British Government voted appropriations for the pay of 113,600 seamen,* and six per cent of this number would necessarily be 6,816.

On February 6th, 1813, the Massachusetts House of Representatives ordered "that Mr. Pickering of Salem, Mr. Tillinghast of Taunton, Mr. Watson of Belfast, be a Committee to consider and report, what measures are proper to be taken in order to ascertain the number of SEAMEN of this Commonwealth impressed or taken by any foreign nation." Mr. Dean of Dedham, and Mr. Breed of Lynn, were afterwards added to this Committee.

Whatever the political motives may have been that led to the appointment of such a fact-finding commission, or whatever the private convictions of the members, the avowed purpose was to determine "the real magnitude of the injury for which hostilities are to be continued." The "hostilities" of course were the war with Great Britain which New England, as a maritime speculator, sought to bring to an end. At this distance the task confronting Mr. Pickering and his fellow committee men may seem arduous but relatively simple. The contrary, however, was the case, for the reason that the best witnesses, the men impressed, were probably not available to take the stand, with the result that the legislators were obliged to look to other sources of information.

First the Committee turned to the official reports on the subject of impressment made to Congress by Mr. Madison, as Secretary of State, and those of his successor, Mr. Monroe. These illuminating documents set forth the names of 6,057 American seamen, said to have been impressed by the British, being taken from applications to American consuls abroad for release. On close examination these lists were found to duplicate the names of individual seamen as many as five times, thereby distorting the total by "many hundreds." Moreover, in many cases the applications failed to specify the birthplace and

* See *The Naval History of Great Britain*, William James, London, 1824, page 233.

domicile of the petitioner. And, finally, this compilation included the names of impressed seamen who had "voluntarily entered into the British service and received bounty and pay." It is of course highly probable that voluntary entry into the British service frequently occurred after the impressed man had been confined on bread and water for a time, but here, again, evidence was lacking, and the Committee accepted the word voluntary, at its face value. The upshot of the matter was that Mr. Pickering, with a laudable zeal for accuracy, rejected the entire list of 6,057 names, as too erroneous for the purpose in hand, and called a selected list of local ship owners and masters to testify to their experience. Among those called were such notable figures as Caleb Loring, Joseph Peabody,¹⁸ Capt. Andrew Harraden, Nathaniel Hooper, William Gray,¹⁹ Thomas H. Perkins,²⁰ Isreal Thorndike, and Commodore Bainbridge, and on their testimony the conclusions of the Committee were based.

And what did they find? In their long experience as shipowners and masters they could prove no more than twelve cases of impressment of Massachusetts seamen. By adding those cases of impressment heard from friends of impressed seamen the total was swelled to 147, and by adding ten cases of "supposed impressment" and 18 impressed seamen found in the *Guerriere*, a grand total of 175 was arrived at. Of the whole number, however, only 107 were Americans.

Needless to say, the Massachusetts Committee was very exacting in the standards it set for evidence, and their problem was complicated by the fact that spurious passports, or sailors' protections, were purchasable from the crimps and boarding house keepers for a dollar or two. As a result many foreigners with these passports in their hands were able to pose as American seamen, and these cases the Pickering Committee was obliged to weed out from the legitimate. The evidence assembled on this head by the impressment investigation is exceedingly interesting and embraces material difficult to find elsewhere.^{21, 22}

NUMBER OF IMPRESSMENTS ADMITTED BY THE BRITISH AFTER THE WAR OF 1812.

With the termination of the War certain facts became available on the subject of impressment. Interesting in themselves they are doubly so in the light of the Massachusetts Report, which came so close to branding impressment a myth. The sidelight alluded to, is to be found, fittingly enough, in the official British reports, listing American impressed seamen released from British prisons, including Dartmoor, from West Indies prisons, and from ships of war. Summaries of these compilations, which are preserved in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. IV, give the names of the impressed, the circumstances of their impressment, the name of the cartel that carried them back to America, their port of arrival, and in some cases the birthplace of those listed. The following summary tells the story:

List A

Released from Dartmoor and English prisons	1420*
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List B

Released from West Indies prisons	155
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List C

Released from ships of war	215
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Total

1790

Without doubt, some of these impressments admitted by the British were spurious judged by the Pickering standard, that is to say, the individuals were not bona fide Americans, but actually foreigners, sailing under American protections. The important consideration, however, appears to be that the British admitted the impressment of 1,790 persons whom they believed to be Americans at the time of their impressment. How many of these men hailed from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts does not appear, but as the Bay State registered at least 37 per cent of the total maritime tonnage of the United States of that period, it would be surprising if her share of the impressments failed to exceed twelve cases.

* See Note 24.

Without accepting Mr. Lyman's figure of 14,000 cases of impressment, there are grounds for believing that 1,790 represented a modest proportion of the number actually impressed during the years leading up to the War of 1812. The British practice of transferring seamen from ship to ship meant that many impressed seamen were on remote stations, with the result that they were not included in the Reports of 1815. Moreover, the British Navy was thoroughly active in this decade, and many seamen lost their lives in battle under the British flag, or in the daily round of hazards common to a seafaring life. In such cases, also, the impressed American seamen had their share of casualties, and their number would go far to swell the admitted total.

While it is impossible to determine the total number of impressments, it may be informing to go back to Commodore Rodgers' statement made before the Massachusetts Committee in 1813 and reported in the *Boston Chronicle* by John H. Stevens. According to this authority Commodore Rodgers stated "that he had documents here and at Washington upon which he founded his opinion that in the course of ten years Great Britain has impressed as many native Americans, as the whole amount of seamen now in the service of the United States." Commodore Rodgers does not state this as a fact, but merely as his opinion which at this date, without the political bias of the Madison period, we can appraise as well informed.

A clue to the figure Commodore Rodgers had in mind may be found in the letter of Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, to William B. Giles, chairman of a Congressional Committee on Naval Affairs, December 14, 1811. Mr. Hamilton begins his letter with a summary of the ships in serviceable condition, as follows:

Frigate President	44 guns	Brig Argus	16 guns
United States	44	Siren	16
Constitution	44	Vixen	14
Congress	36	Nautilus	14
Essex	32	Oneida	16

Ship	John Adams	20	Enterprise	14
	Wasp	18	Viper	10
	Hornet	18		

He goes on to add that the following, not then in service, might be repaired:

Chesapeake	36 guns
Constellation	36
New York	36
Adams	32
Boston	32

Mr. Hamilton concludes his letter with a statement of the number of seamen then in service of the United States and the number needed to man the five ships to be conditioned.

Number of seamen, ordinary seamen and boys exclusive of petty officers required to man the above stated (five vessels)	1220
In service at this time	4010
Whole number authorized by law	5025
Of the seamen stated necessary for vessels of war and gunboats now in commission	
The vessels of war require	2346
The gunboats require	1488
Vessels and gunboats in ordinary	176
Total	4010

From these figures, compiled in 1811, on the eve of the War, it may be assumed that Commodore Rodgers had in mind impressments numbering at least 5,000, and probably more, as the number of enlisted men required during a state of war would normally have exceeded the peace time quota. No doubt, Commodore Rodgers was aware of the 6,057 release applications on file at Washington, and it may be in his informed opinion that he gave greater credit to this figure than Mr. Pickering.

All this, however, is pure speculation, but the figure of 1,790 impressments admitted by the British may be applied with reasonable confidence to the requirements of the United States Navy as set forth by Mr. Hamilton

in 1811. At that time the entire fleet of vessels, both frigates, ships, and brigs, was manned by 2,346 seamen, ordinary seamen and boys. In other words, if these impressed men had been available for service in the United States Navy, its deep water force could have been increased by about 75 per cent, or the total number of enlisted men, including the gunboat crews, by about 44 per cent. Needless to say, such an augmentation would have materially increased our effectiveness in dealing with the British Navy, especially as seamen were not easy to find; witness the following letter to Captain Hull:

Navy Department
June 17, 1814

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 9th instant. You are misinformed as to the defence of the ships at New London; they have not one third of the number of men on board that you mention, nor do I believe the military force is one half that you suppose, though in the actual presence of a very strong blockading squadron, and the means of defense vastly inferior to those at Portsmouth.

The Secretary of War has been regularly informed of all you have said on the subject, and has taken such measures he presumed the occasion calls for.

As to the crew of the *Congress*, they formed no part of the defense of Portsmouth, for, could she have recruited 50 additional men, she would have been at sea long since. I am sure you do not expect that other places much less tenable than Portsmouth are to be abandoned in order to defend Portsmouth.

Your own observation and experience must prove to you the difficulty of recruiting men, and if you cannot get them in the very quarter of the union where they must abound, where are they to come from? The want of seamen has, as you have seen, compelled the Department to strip from ships that were ready for sea, to man those on the Lakes. Are we to strip the remainder in order to defend those that are building in the Atlantic ports? If so, policy and economy would dictate the burning of the latter, in order to remove the temptation, rather than to defend them at an expense far transcending their value.

You must see, Sir, that this Department can give you no

other additional means of defense than such as you may derive from recruiting. The War Department will, I presume, send such as can be spared from other branches of the service, but if the people of a populous place, with such powerful means of defence natural and artificial, will not defend themselves, I see nothing to prevent the force you have mentioned from burning the town and everything in its vicinity.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obt. Servt.
W. Jones

Capt. Isaac Hull
U. S. N. Portsmouth, N. H.

A 44-gun frigate, we are told by naval officers who were well qualified to speak on the subject, was manned effectively by 140 able seamen, and 172 ordinary seamen and boys, or a total of 312. On this basis, then the United States Navy with the 1,790 impressed seamen could have manned five additional frigates of the same rating as the *Constitution*, with several hundred hands to spare: a very welcome addition, we think. William James, the British naval historian, estimated that an American 44-gun frigate carried, during the War of 1812, a crew of 200 able seamen, 125 ordinary seamen and five boys, or 330, exclusive of officers, petty officers and marines.* Mr. James' figure is a trifle larger than the American estimate, still, when applied to the admitted number of impressments, it allows the manning of five 44-gun frigates with nearly enough left over to man an 18-gun ship of the *Hornet* class.

In all fairness, therefore, it must be concluded that impressment was not a mere legend, trumped up for political purposes, nor a wives' tale to frighten children, but a material fact, and a practice that hindered the manning of our navy at a critical time. Commodore Rodgers' estimate, in all probability, was not very wide of the mark, while that of the Massachusetts Impressment Committee may appear to have fallen rather short of it, but whether

* *Naval History of Great Britain*, William James, London, 1824, Vol. V, page 288.

Mr. Pickering and his colleagues were guilty of what is sometimes termed wishful thinking we are not prepared to say.

NOTES.

1. Impressment of American seamen by the British was carried on, not only in British ports and on the high seas, but also all along the American coast, and at times practically within sight of land. In some instances, even passengers were impressed, for example on May 1st, 1811 the *Guerriere*, cruising off Sandy-Hook, boarded the *Spitfire*, an American brig, bound from Portland to New York, and impressed a passenger, John Deguyo, said to be a native of the United States. At about the same time the *Guerriere* took out of American vessels Gideon Caprian and John Leeds, both American citizens.

2. It must not be supposed that the custom of impressing seamen was peculiar to the British. The French also indulged freely in the practice, although their navy was smaller than the British and consequently their necessity. An interesting letter on the subject appears in *American State Papers*, 1811-1815, page 113:

“Translation of a Letter from the Duke of Bassano to
Mr. Barlow, dated Paris, Dec. 21, 1811

Sir,

I have the honour to announce to you that his majesty the emperor, by a decision of the 12th of this month, has ordered to be placed at the disposition of their government, twenty three Americans, whom the town of Dantzick had by mistake comprised in a levy of sailors it had to furnish to France. These sailors had been sent to Antwerp, and afterwards to Rochefort, and these successive removals having rendered impracticable the immediate proof of their citizenship, every decision on that subject was necessarily deferred.

The usage is to deliver to the nearest consul those who are claimed by his government, therefore, the twenty three American sailors could not be sent directly from Rochefort to Cherbourg, as you desired, but the minister of marine has directed the maritime prefect of Rochefort to have them struck off the rolls, and to send them to Rochelle, there to be put at the disposition of the consul of the United States.

I hasten, sir, to apprise you of this, and I have the honour to renew the assurance of my high consideration.

The Duke of Bassano."

No doubt the British in some cases impressed Americans in the sincere belief that they were English, but the French could hardly have supposed the twenty three Americans at Dantzick to have been French. In some respects, therefore, Bassano's letter appears to lack plausibility and candour.

The Massachusetts Committee on impressment, in its report published in 1813, commented on impressment by the French, and cited eleven cases.

3. Captain Edmund Fanning in his *Voyages and Discoveries* gives an account of his experiences at Falmouth when there in the *Portland*, Capt. Robinson, during the French Revolution:

" . . . the British frigate *Nymphe*, Sir Edward Pellew, arrived at Falmouth, bringing in with her as a prize, the French frigate *Cleopatra*, which vessel she had captured, after a severely contested action."

" . . . the frigate (*Nymphe*) . . . was again repaired, and made ready for sea, with the utmost despatch. It was necessary, however, to have more hands, and for this purpose a hot press took place; seamen were taken from all the vessels in port; from the American vessels as well as others. The second mate, carpenter, and all the hands, excepting the steward and cabin boy, were taken from the *Portland*."

Application to Mr. Fox, the American consul for assistance in obtaining the release of the Americans still left the *Portland* crewless. Luckily Mr. Fanning bethought him of his good friend the Mayor of Falmouth with whom he describes his interview.

" . . . I repaired to the Mayor's office, and found him busily engaged writing. . . . I mentioned the difficulty that had been brought upon me, and that my present visit was for aid and advice. After giving a statement of the transaction, in reply to his question, what difficulty it was, 'is that all?' said he, with a smile, 'Oh, then I think in case you can keep your own secret, a plan can soon be put into operation, that will very shortly restore your men.' . . . 'for' continued he, 'I am intimately acquainted with Sir Edward Pellew, . . . to him, Mr. Fanning, I will give you a note of introduction;'

"The next morning, manned the ship's yawl with all hands,

viz., the steward and cabin boy, and at the appointed hour, proceeded to the landing abreast of Sir Edward Pellew's seat, . . . Upon ringing at the gate, a porter appeared, who stated Sir Edward to be at home, but then engaged at breakfast, asking my name, attended with a request that I would call again; I desired him first to deliver the Mayor's note to Sir Edward, and then he would get an answer. In a few moments Sir Edward came to the door, having the note in his hand, and very politely . . . inviting me, to step in and take a cup of coffee. Upon my declining, he observed, 'Your business, Mr. Fanning, I perceive to be the *Portland's* men: are they all Americans?' I replied, they are, all except two Swedes. 'Do you, Mr. Fanning, know that to be the fact,—at least, will you give me your word of honour you believe such to be the fact.' I answered, 'I do'; and then mentioned, that to my certain knowledge, the second mate had a wife and three infant children dependent on his earnings for their subsistence. At this moment, the lady of Sir Edward, who upon perceiving him receive a note . . . exclaimed with much sympathy 'Oh, my love, do not take that man from his family!' . . . he continued, 'Mr. Fanning, at one o'clock call on board the frigate; if I am not there at that hour, the commanding officer will have my instructions in reference to the *Portland's* men.'"

When Mr. Fanning called on board the *Nymphe* he found that Sir Edward Pellew had been as good as his word and all the men with the exception of the Swedes were immediately released. Had his men been impressed at sea Mr. Fanning would not have had the intercession of his friend the Mayor and it would in all probability have been quite a different story. We like to think, however, in that event that Sir Edward would have left him with more than the steward and cabin boy.

4. Steel's List for April 1796 refers to the *Tartar* as a twenty-eight gun ship built in 1756, and the *Albicore* as a sixteen gun sloop built in 1793.

5. The *Ceres* frigate, according to "Steel's Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy," April, 1796, was built in 1781 and mounted thirty-two guns. As ships of this size and rating usually carried crews of between two hundred and two hundred and twenty men and boys, exclusive of officers and marines, it seems that close to one tenth part of the *Ceres* hands were Americans.

6. The rights of neutral countries are frequently disregarded by belligerents, both wilfully and inadvertently. As an example the neutrality of Chile was violated during the War of 1812 when Captain Hillyar captured the American frigate *Essex*. The *Essex*, in attempting to evade the British ships blockading Valparaiso harbour, lost her main topmast in a squall and, unable to regain her berth in port, she finally anchored within pistol shot of the shore, in a small bay three quarters of a mile from one of the shore batteries. Captain Hillyar, seeing his advantage, in spite of the neutral waters, sailed his ships in and finally succeeded in taking the *Essex*.

Moreover, in the Civil War the United States was guilty of breaches of neutrality in two well-known cases. The U. S. steamer *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, boarded the British mail steamer *Trent*, sailing between two neutral ports, and took out of her Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who were sailing to represent the Confederate Government abroad. As England was a strong neutral and not a weak one, we were obliged to place these two gentlemen on a ship which the British designated, thus repairing the breach. In the second case we violated Brazilian neutrality, when the U. S. *Wachusett* seized the Confederate steamer *Florida* in the port of Bahia and carried her to sea. She later sank in Hampton Roads and was not returned to Brazil, as some authorities on international law believed she should have been. Brazil, however, was a weak neutral and was treated accordingly.

Today the British have provided an excellent example of neutrality violation in sending the *Cossack* into a Norwegian fiord where she boarded the German auxiliary *Altmark* and carried off three hundred British seamen, held prisoners on the latter ship. Doubtless the reasons for this step are sound from the British point of view, but the breach of neutrality remains.

7. Although Mr. Monroe's instructions to our ministers were explicit in the matter of impressment, the Treaty of Ghent, which concluded the War of 1812, made no reference whatever to the impressment of American seamen. Towards the end of the War most of the American ports, and with them our naval vessels were blockaded, with the result that the Administration at Washington was quite willing to make some concessions for peace. So it happened that the impressment question was left in mid-air to settle itself, which

it did, as the needs of the British Navy became relatively modest, once Napoleon was lodged at St. Helena.

8. By Act of Congress, May 28, 1796, it became the duty of Collectors of ports to keep books, recording the names of all seamen producing proof of American citizenship, together with the proof of citizenship. Upon payment of a fee of twenty-five cents by such seamen, it became the further duty of the Collector to issue a certificate of citizenship to the applicant. These certificates, or seamen's passports, were known as protections.

9. While occasionally unruly tars were made to ride the spanker boom, to their great discomfort, the more common form of punishment was flogging with the cat and nine tails which was merely a whip with nine lashes of rope.

First the crew, for the good of its soul, was mustered abaft the main mast, on the spar deck at the gangway. A hatch grating was then set flat on the deck and another lashed at right angles to it. The next to arrive on the scene was the master-at-arms bringing the culprit under a guard of marines. The victim's shirt was then stripped off, his wrists seized up to the grating above his head, and his ankles lashed to the grating below. At a word from the captain, the last to appear, the boatswain would step forward, separate the strands of the cat, wind up and let the prisoner have it full across the back. The master-at-arms, who kept tally, tolled off "One, two, three," one count for each blow, until the allotment had been completed. If it happened to be a large number, the boatswain would step down when he felt his arm weakening, and give place to his mate who would carry on with a new cat;—all this under the eye of the ship's surgeon who was supposed to prevent irreparable damage to the offender.

If a man had been flogged a day or two before so that his back was still raw, the surgeon, with sufficient courage to brave the captain, might protest another flogging. In such a case the man was frequently led to a handy gun, made to lean over it, and in this position his wrists were then lashed to the forward axle trees on each side of the carriage and his ankles to the gun tackle bolts in the carriage. He was thus fully exposed to raking, to use a nautical term, and, after his trousers were stripped down, the colt, a small whip, was applied to his stern, with the master-at-arms keeping tally!

This time-honored custom was followed in both the Brit-

ish and American navies for some years. Without arguing the merits of the practice, it was at best an abuse of power, varying in its results with the temper of the commanding officer and the constitution of the men. Some sailors were doubtless killed by flogging, and others maimed, while a very great number were none the worse for it and, in another sense, none the better.

Perhaps the master-at-arms deserves a further word, and no one has summarized his duties and position on ship board better than Herman Melville, who writes in *White Jacket*, as follows:

"The master-at-arms is a sort of high constable and schoolmaster, wearing citizen's clothes, and known by his official rattan. He it is whom all sailors hate. His is the universal duty of a universal informer and hunter-up of delinquents. On the berth-deck he reigns supreme; spying out all grease-spots made by the various cooks of the seamen's messes, and driving the laggards up the hatches, when all hands are called. It is indispensable that he should be a very Vidocq in vigilance. But as it is a heartless, so it is a thankless office. Of dark nights, most masters-at-arms keep themselves in readiness to dodge forty-two pound balls, dropped down the hatchways near them."

10. The spars of a frigate were necessarily very heavy, and as the rigging and cordage slings were frequently cut up during an engagement the yards were customarily slung in chains to protect the men. A spar falling from aloft might easily wipe out several gun crews at a critical moment. Moreover, a spar slung in chains with its rigging cut away could be much more easily rerigged than one which had fallen to the deck. Thus the chains must have aided repair work and so increased the effectiveness of the ship. (For a description of yard slings and trusses see pages 35 and 36, *The Young Sea Officer's Sheet Anchor*, Darcy Lever, Philadelphia, 1819.)

11. William Peake, captain of the *Peacock*, was killed in the action with the *Hornet*, February 24, 1813.

12. It seems to have been one of the duties of midshipmen to care for would-be deserters. Farragut, who was a midshipman on the United States frigate *Essex* during her engagement with the *Cherub* in the War of 1812, gives an account of such an incident in his journal:

"On one occasion Midshipman Isaacs came up to the Cap-

tain and reported that a quarter-gunner named Roach had deserted his post. The only reply of the Captain, addressed to me, was 'Do your duty, sir.' I seized a pistol and went in pursuit of the fellow, but did not find him."

13. In extenuation of Captain Peake's treatment of the impressed Americans, it is fair to point out that the captain of a sailing ship going into action had a great many vital decisions to make. He had to maneuver for the weather gage, capitalize the sailing qualities of his vessel and the range of his guns, plan the action, and foresee the probable contingencies. Under such circumstances the most benevolent commander might well give little consideration to the complaints and petitions of seamen.

14. The *Acteon* of James Tompkins' deposition was very likely the sixteen gun *Acteon* commanded by Ralph Viscount Neville at the blockading of Port Louis, Isle de France, November 29, 1810.

15. An interesting account of impressment is to be found in *The Life and Adventures of James R. Durand*, Rochester, N. Y., 1820. He writes, as follows, of his experience in August, 1809:

" . . . about 11 o'clock at night, there came along side a boat belonging to the *Narcissus* frigate. They boarded our brig and they came below where I was asleep. With much abuse, they hauled me out of my bed, not suffering me to even put on or take anything except my trowsers.

"In this miserable condition, I was taken on board their ship but did not think to be detained there for a term of seven years. Had I known my destiny that night, I would have instantly committed the horrid crime of self-murder. In this sorrowful condition I spent the night. At day light, I found my way on deck and soon after heard the word given to un-moor the ship and get her ready for sea.

"There came along side a boat with stuff to sell. For a shilling, I procured a sheet of paper on which I wrote a letter to the Captain of the Brig. I desired him to break open my chest and take out my protection and indenture and send them on board as quick as possible. I hired the boat to take this message to him immediately. The message boat made all possible speed; she had a mile and a half to go, yet she went with such rapidity that in one hour and one half after, the Captain was on board with my indenture and protection.

"The Lieutenant of the *Narcissus* said he could do nothing about clearing me, but told the Captain of the brig that if he (the Captain) would go ashore and see the Captain of the frigate, he would direct him where to find him.

"There is an island to pass, between the spot where we lay on the frigate and the town. It is called Drake's Island. It was my bad fortune that the Captain of the brig carrying my protection and indenture passed on one side of this isle in the message boat, while the Captain of the *Narcissus* passed it on the other side. Therefore they missed each other and my last chance of regaining my liberty was gone. As soon as our Captain arrived on the *Narcissus*, he weighed anchor and put to sea. . . ."

The author of this narrative was born in the town of Milford, Connecticut, in 1786.

For an additional account of impressment see also *Seventeen Years' History of the Life and Sufferings of James M'lean*, Written by Himself, Hartford, 1814. See also *A Narrative of Joshua Davis, Who was Pressed etc.*, Boston, 1811.

16. A deserter from man of war of this period, if caught, was apt to be hanged by the neck from the larboard foreyard arm, with the entire crew mustered to witness punishment. The doomed man, blindfolded, was made to stand on a small platform built for the purpose over one of the guns. A line passing before the muzzle of the gun suspended a weight of round shot just below the fore top, while a whip line, also secured to the weight, ran down over the yard and ended in a noose about the victim's neck. When the gun was fired it instantly severed the line, and the round shot, falling from aloft, whipped the man up to the yard arm. In theory the concussion of the explosion killed the victim, or at least stunned him, so that he was spared the pain of hanging. (For an account of hanging aboard ships of war see *Three Score Years: An Autobiography*, by Samuel F. Holbrook, Boston, 1857, page 42.)

17. *Sappho*, brig 18 guns, H. O'Grady, Jamaica and Leeward Islands station.

Moselle, brig, 18 guns, — Mowbray, Esq., Halifax station. (See Steel's List.)

18. Joseph Peabody was recognized as one of the most successful merchants and shipowners of Salem. Among his well-known vessels were the *Leander* and the *George* which

figured for some years in the Calcutta trade. He also owned the unfortunate *Friendship* which was seized by the Malays of Quallah-Battoo with the loss of some of her men. Mr. Peabody's complaint to the Government at Washington brought quick results; the frigate *Potomac* was ordered to Sumatra, and the much-criticized bombarding of Quallah-Battoo followed. Mr. Joseph Peabody also owned the ill-fated *Glide* which came to grief at Penrhyn Island.

19. William Gray was probably the ranking American shipowner of his time. Unlike most of his associates he was a Federalist and as such was a backer of the Embargo. It was also owing to his financial assistance that the Constitution was able to get to sea after her escape from the British fleet.

20. Thomas H. Perkins was apparently conceded to be the leading merchant of Boston, and as a shipowner he was much interested in the northwest fur trade. He held decided opinions and like Israel Thorndike voted for the Hartford Convention.

21. Massachusetts Report of 1813 — Deposition of William Parsons:

"I reside in Boston, and have been engaged in commerce and navigation about thirty years. I have employed in my vessels, annually, upon an average, about fifty seamen, until the time of the embargo. I have no recollection of any of my seamen being impressed for the last twenty years, except in one instance. In the year 1806, a seaman was taken from the ship *Meridian*, capt. Lord, in coming out of Rotterdam, by a British sloop of war; I do not recollect the man's name; he and all the rest of the crew were shipped at Norfolk, in Virginia, and there was only one American among them; the man taken, as above, was an Irishman. When I paid off the crew they informed me that they had bought their protections at Norfolk, for two dollars a piece. Capt. Lord applied to the commander of the sloop of war, who said he would deliver up the man, if the man himself would give his word that he was an American, which he would not do; but said he had a wife in America.

"I do not know of any American seamen being impressed from any vessel belonging to the town where I reside, other than the vessels above mentioned belonging to me.

"The number of men employed on an average, including large and small vessels, in foreign trade, is about six, for every hundred tons of shipping.

"Upon inquiring of all the crew of the *Meridian* that were paid off as above mentioned, I found that there was but one instance where the true names of the men agreed with the names mentioned in their protections; that was a Connecticut man. When I speak of their true names I mean the names they gave me when I paid them off, and by which they receipted to me for their wages; many of them had forgotten the names they went by in their protections. When they were shipped at Norfolk, their protections were picked out, as capt. Lord informed me, from a large number of protections which were kept at the boarding house; and such protections were chosen as agreed with the persons of the seamen.

"Of all the crews of my vessels that have been shipped at Boston, I do not recollect any instance where a man has been impressed. The Norfolk crew above mentioned was the only instance where a crew of mine had been shipped in any other port than Boston.

"WILLIAM PARSONS

"Suffolk, ss. Feb. 15th, 1813.

Sworn before

"Alex. Townsend, J. Peace."

22. Massachusetts Report of 1813; Deposition of Thomas H. Perkins:

"I, Thomas H. Perkins, of Boston, merchant, do depose, and say, that I am a partner with my brother James Perkins, (who has this day given his deposition) have always had the particular care of that part of our business that relates to the shipping of our seamen. We have always employed at least from an hundred to an hundred and fifty seamen annually, upon an average, and I do not recollect any instances of impressments except of the three men mentioned by him, who were foreigners. In our vessels, we have usually had a fifth part and I think, a fourth part of our crews foreigners, chiefly English and Irishmen. In repeated instances, foreigners have applied to me for employment, and stated that they had no protections and did not wish to go to the trouble of getting them, till they were sure of employment, and that they could get protections through the masters of the boarding houses in town. In several instances they have brought me protections that did not agree with their persons, and told me they gave two dollars apiece for them.

"The same seaman will often procure more than one protection, by going to the Custom House and proving by his own oath or that of others, that he had lost his first protection.

"T. H. PERKINS

"I further state, that according to my best knowledge and belief, the house of J & T. H. Perkins has employed, in vessels fitted for sea by them from this place, upwards of twenty five hundred persons, from the year 1793.

"T. H. PERKINS

"Suffolk, ss. Boston Feb. 16, 1813. Then Thomas H. Perkins Esq. above named made solemn oath to the truth of the above declaration by him subscribed, before me,

"W. H. Sumner, Justice of the Peace."

23. During the Revolution the American Navy at times found it very difficult to man its ships, even as the British, and to solve its problem our Navy resorted to the British expedient of impressing seamen. James Fenimore Cooper, in his *History of the Navy of the United States*, refers to the matter at the beginning of Chapter IX:

"When General Lafayette, after a detention of several months on the road, in consequence of severe illness, reached Boston near the close of 1778, in order to embark in the *Alliance*, it was found that the frigate was not yet manned. Desirous of rendering themselves useful to their illustrious guest, the government of Massachusetts offered to complete the ship's complement by impressment, an expedient that had been adopted on more than one occasion during the war; but the just minded and benevolent Lafayette would not consent to the measure."

Massachusetts was still using the impressment method of manning naval vessels in July, 1780; witness *A Narrative of Joshua Davis, An American Citizen, Who Was Pressed And Served On Board Six Ships Of The British Navy*, Boston, 1811. After a period of impressment in the British Navy Joshua Davis was sent ashore at Halifax because of illness, and shortly after was put on board a cartel for Boston. His narrative reads as follows:

" . . . In about 8 days a cartel was filled out to take us to Boston. Eighty four were put on board, of whom Capt. Ropes, of Salem, was one. We sailed from Halifax on the 7th of July and in six days were in sight of Cape Ann. We

saw two boats to the leeward and bore down for them, in order to get some fish. One of our men, by the name of Connor, asked the skippers of the boats if they had any news from Boston, and was told that the frigates *Boston*, and *Dean*, and *Mars* ship, were pressing all the men they could find — Connor called all the people below, and told them that if they went to Boston, they would be impressed on board the ships there; and if they would stand by him, he would take the cartel into Cape Ann that night: to which we agreed. At about 4 o'clock in the morning Connor went to the man at the helm, and said "let me take a trip at the helm," and forced him from it; when he ran directly into Cape Ann, and came to an anchor under the fort."

In the days of the Revolution our infant Navy was very loosely organized, and it cannot be said that impressment was an established practice. It seems rather to have cropped up from time to time during the transition period along with other customs borrowed directly from the British. By 1812 the practice had been completely abandoned by our Navy, and probably most people had forgotten that we ever employed it. In 1812 Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, wrote to James Monroe, dismissing the possibility that a seaman could have been forced to join the American Navy:

"Navy Department; June 8 1812

"It can scarcely be necessary for me to remark that neither the laws nor usages of our country would sanction any compulsory means to induce persons to enter the Navy of the United States.

"I am with great respect &c

"Paul Hamilton

"The honorable, the Secretary of State"

24. Benjamin Waterhouse and Josiah Cobb, both prisoners at Dartmoor during the War of 1812, give estimates of the number of impressed Americans held at that prison.

A Journal of a Young Man of Massachusetts, Late Surgeon on Board An American Privateer, by Benjamin Waterhouse, Boston, 1816, makes the following statement on page 158:

"There are now at this depot, about Twenty-Three Hundred and Fifty Americans, who were impressed, previously to the war, into the British Service, by English ships and English press-gangs."

Josiah Cobb in *A Green Hand's First Cruise*, volume two, page 170, arrives at close to the same figure:

"This body of men alone numbered more than twenty five hundred within these walls."

LETTER OF WILLIAM GLADSTONE RELATING
TO A GEORGE PEABODY STATUE IN ENGLAND.

11. Carlton-House-Terrace
S. W.

March 30. 70.

My dear Sir

I have had the honour to receive and to make known to my Colleagues the letter which you did me the honour to address to me on the fifteenth of February.

They received your suggestion that a statue of Mr. Peabody should be obtained from America in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen with much pleasure.

And, so soon as we are able to determine on the precise plan and mode of proceeding to carry the suggestion into effect, Her Majesty's advisers will not fail to communicate the project for Her gracious consideration.

Lord Clarendon will at once communicate with Mr. Thornton in order to insure the choice of the proper sculptor; when Mr. Millmore's qualifications for this arduous work will be duly considered. The people of this country are so deeply interested in Mr. Peabody, that it would be necessary we should convince them that the work was to be committed to the very best artist whom the United States of America could provide for the purpose.

The kind and cordial greeting given by the Authorities and people of Massachusetts to Prince Arthur is to my colleagues and myself a subject of the liveliest satisfaction. I have the honour to be my dear Sir

Faithfully yours

W. Gladstone

Hon. D. K. Hitchcock

— *Essex Institute Autograph Collection.*

At the Piano.

BY ELIZABETH HUME.

[Read at a social gathering, after the playing of "Russia," "Germany," and "Italy," from Moskowski's suite, entitled "From Foreign Parts."]

She sits and plays within the gloom
Of twilight in the quiet room,
And flickering shadows on the wall
Seem with the sound to rise and fall.
Without, the ice-clad branches beat;
In rhythmic cadence falls the sleet;
And billows of the eddying snow
Bury full deep the paths men go.

What though the wintry winds blow chill
Here all the air is warm and still;
And in the embers grow for me
The pictures of my reverie.
For waves of dream-life ebb and flow
As on, those facile fingers go—
Interpreting in mystic fashion
The heart-throbs of a whole world's passion.

I see within the dying fire
The gleaming of the Kremlin's spire,
Where from the Neva's banks afar
Stretch the vast snow fields of the Czar,
And hear the zither's measure rise
Tuned to the weird tales of mad ^{imprison,} ~~imprison,~~ ^l
As the dusky children of the Nile
Make musical their long exile. ^Q

The tone grows softer, sweet and clear,
A major chord of glad good cheer;
Again I see the blue Rhine flow ^{walls}
By the grey towers of Elsass— ^{in hoh}
By fragrant vineyards on the steep—
By quiet hamlets half asleep,
And always as it flows along ^{my}
Rises the full-pledged "People's Song," ^{voiced}
A simple melody, it doth bear ^{that}
No depth of passion or of prayer,
But voiceful is of peaceful days,
Of lives serene, and homely ways. ^Q

Again a change, with tripping feet
The Tarantella's measures beat.
Cymbal and tinkling tambourine
Mark the exultant strains between—
A joy of earth, of sky, of sea,
All fused with magic alchemy,
With visions of Venetian towers,
And far Sorrento's orange bowers. ^Q

From North and South, from East and West
A common speech, for all hearts blest,
Those flying, facile fingers bring, —
To each his own interpreting.

*Along the corridors keeps the touch
Of the great masters. Loved so much.*

With Chopin breathes a passionate pain;
In Mozart laughs fresh life again;
Traces with silver thread of tone
The arabesque of Mendelssohn;
Sings of the stream, the rose, the knight—
The gypsy and the sunset light.
Prays with Beethoven, and at length
In Bach's great choral gathers strength.

Oh Power! whose undefined thought,
Deeper than spoken word has wrought—
Whose touch knows every secret spring
Of pain or joy's awakening,
The universal happiness
Or grief thy language doth express
Of the world's heart,—in every tone
Findeth an echo in mine own.

Burlington, March 14, '89.

NEIGHBOR TO A POET.

RECOLLECTIONS OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

BY ELIZABETH HUME OF AMESBURY.

It was "Mr. Whittier," we always called him, we little Amesbury children, and by this name we know him still though so long gone from us. To his men friends he was "Whittier" as to a comrade; and "Greenleaf" was his family name, with which he delighted to play; while to the man on the street he was "John G." with a kind of irreverent affection.

Johnny McGinley, who drove the depot hack, would announce with some importance that he must call "John G." first for the train, and Kate Choate, striding down from her neat little house on the hill, would call out cheerfully as she passed, that she must hurry along with "John G.'s" shirts, as he was leaving early in the morning for the mountains. All through my childhood I saw him constantly, but at a distance and with awe, for he was distinctly a personage; his tall slight form passing swiftly through our village streets, lips compressed, head slightly bent under the closely-drawn broad brim, was a mysterious figure to our childish eyes.

But now and then there was a nearer view, for I was sometimes taken to see Charlie, the parrot, and once I recall when walking with my father, being detained a moment in the street by the poet, as he showed us with grave interest a great key,—it was the key of the Libby prison, sent him by the invaders of Richmond. Occasionally, carriage loads of strangers passed our door, and later we would hear that Mr. Sumner, or Mr. Fields or perhaps the wandering Bayard Taylor had been paying him a visit.

When my memories begin, the cottage on Friend Street, which for a quarter of a century had housed the remnant of the family of "Snow Bound," had lost one

by one the aunt, the mother, and the beloved youngest sister, leaving the poet to the companionship of a younger generation. During these years, Amesbury had emerged from a small but busy village to a town thrice its former population, and the community which had been predominantly of settler stock, had received the first waves of Scottish and Irish immigration. It was an industrial center, conservative in politics, mistrustful of change, suspicious of new ideas and to a family like the Whittiers, deeply interested in moral reform, must have presented many problems.

Through their long membership in the local meeting, at first the relations of the family must have been largely within that connection; along the river valley, on the higher slopes of Pond Hills, over in Newbury and down by the sea at Seabrook and Hampton were ancient friendships to be cultivated and retained. But soon the political and literary interests in which both brother and sister were absorbed, brought them into a circle uncircumscribed by creed and custom, and we find Mr. Higginson, the Unitarian minister at Newburyport, drinking tea at the Whittier table, and Mary Carter and her mother, ardent spiritualists, becoming near and dear; while Isaac and Mary Barnard and Sophronia Moody, old orthodox stock, warmly and admiringly regarded. Deacon William Caruthers of the Baptist church on the Salisbury side of the Powow was an especial friend, and his tragic death, for the man committed suicide, evoked from our poet one of the most touching tributes ever penned.

Leaving their spacious home amid surroundings of rural beauty, this family had settled itself in a small cottage on a closely built village street, had planted their garden to fruit and flowers, and at once proceeded to make friends with their neighbors, and this tradition of neighborliness continued to the end. As time went on, the wider interests of which the world was beginning to be conscious, found recognition in our town, and the inspiration of these mentally alert citizens was more and more felt. Well-written articles appeared in our local paper signed J. G. W. and these initials were often found

appended to benevolent and charitable movements. Our lyceum, that early effort for general culture, was actively supported and Mr. Whittier's wider acquaintance was of assistance, in the selecting of speakers, the more that they were often his guests.

The unexpectedly large return from the sale of "Snow Bound" and the lessening of political tension at the close of the Civil War led Mr. Whittier to continuous literary occupations, in which he missed more and more the companionship of the sister so lately gone. For she had ventured in many paths of literature; and Littell's "Living Age," that American compilation of the best from the English reviews, received by the Whittiers from its earliest number, had helped her to a wide and critical knowledge of the notable poetry and romance of the day. As we grew up, we seemed to hear a good deal about these occupations: The "Songs of Three Centuries" was being compiled, and this anthology contained a variety of poems concerning which there was much discussion. With Miss Larcom he was selecting material for "Childlife in Poetry," and "Childlife in Prose," while to that pioneer magazine for young people, *Our Young Folks*, edited by his friends, J. T. Trowbridge, Gail Hamilton and Lucy Larcom, he occasionally contributed both prose and verse, and we read it from its earliest number. Little books with bright covers found their way to us, with his name and our own written inside; the Vest Pocket series delighted him, and the blue and gold edition brought out by Ticknor and Fields in which his collected edition of 1858 appeared, was dear to us.

Through our father's friendship we had occasional contacts, although he made few calls and rarely took a meal outside his own home. I recollect a day, however, when we had a gala occasion. Whittier was coming to dinner, and our friend Mr. Currier, his frequent companion, was to accompany him. They came, and our mother, reticent and beautiful, presided competently at her well-ordered table, while our father, genial and happy, carried on the lively talk. After the meal was over our guests lingered; what should be done for their entertainment? Ah, the

children would "speak pieces!" My sister, whose attractive face and sweet voice made her a favorite with Mr. Whittier, essayed the emotional Jean Ingelow's "High Tide" and "Songs of Seven," while I, rather more sturdy, recited "The Jack Daw of Rheims," a rhythmic satire always enjoyed by the poet; moreover, I could reel off with ease the long stanzas of "The Cottar's Saturday Night," a prime favorite, and possibly the unconscious suggestion of "Snow Bound" later on. It was our mother who taught us to speak without over-emphasizing unimportant words, that particular bane of school-girl recitation, and who warned us not to forget that we were reciting poetry, and no mistake about it.

It was in the Friend Street home that we saw our friend his most natural and delightful self, and as time went on, I went to him often with my school and college mates, whose names and faces he had a pleasant habit of remembering. We were always ushered first into the little parlor on the right, a shapely and well-lighted room, with its handsome fire frame, rush-seated chairs and mahogany table. The portraits of the mother and sister on the walls, the long haircloth covered sofa, the little chimney closets with their brass catches, and the panelled doors were features which gave a certain stateliness to the place. But soon across the intervening spaces would come our friend, with eager welcoming hand, and "Come in here," he would say, and so before the wood fire in the sunny garden room we would sit, and he alternately brooded and talked, entertaining us, questioning us, and always full of the interests of village and country. He lent us books and asked us how we liked them, and was eager to have us read any in which he was especially interested, books of travel and adventure, of romance, biography or religion.

"What does thee think of Robert Elsmere?" I remember his asking. It was the sensation of the day in theological circles. I, full of enthusiasm, said that I found it thrillingly interesting. "Yes, it is," he conceded, "but did thee not find it unsettling?" We talked of the stories of George MacDonald, the Scottish quality of which as well as their humanitarian interests delighted him, and

later when this author came to lecture on Burns at our lyceum, he with his wife and son were guests of the poet. Those were simple days, and I recall an admirer bringing a cake made by her own hands to supplement the literary tea table. Later, Mrs. MacDonald relates in her biography of her husband, how deeply the quiet Quaker hospitality delighted both visitors. New ideas in either life or religion were of prime interest to Mr. Whittier and while he held his own simple faith, he felt a warm sympathy for souls struggling and unsettled spiritually. The liberality of the modern Scottish sermonizers of the Established Church, certain volumes of whose writings were published at this time, appealed to him, and they may be found still among his books.

With the marriage of his housekeeper niece, the second Elizabeth Whittier, in 1876 there came a change in the life of our friend, for it was arranged that he should spend a large part of the year on a beautiful country estate recently purchased by some distant cousins, leaving the Amesbury cottage unchanged as his legal residence, and subject to frequent visits at the holidays and at election time. During the next ten years we seemed to see our friend no less frequently than before, and his friends, Judge and Mrs. Cate, carried on the traditional hospitality of the house. The country air and beautiful surroundings of the Danvers home, already christened by the poet "Oak Knoll," were reflected in his improved health and renewed activity, and he seemed ever on the wing going and returning. He was often in Boston, where his old friends the Fields and Claflins made him welcome, and where he met many new friends of whom he told us. The busy tide of workshops had invaded quiet Friend Street, and it had become a somewhat dusty thoroughfare, but I seem to recall him often there; in summer poised for flight, perhaps to the Shoals, where at Appledore Mrs. Thaxter and her circle welcomed him, or to his favorite haunts among the New Hampshire hills; and even in cold weather, he would return for a short visit to the familiar parlor with its portraits, and to the low-

ceilinged sunny garden room, seemingly glad to welcome the old friends and neighbors again.

In a former paper I have described at length the summer excursions at this period, especially those in the Bear Camp region of the Ossipees, to which we with other friends accompanied him, and where we found ourselves both living and helping to create poetry. My own gift of rhyming, somewhat belated, was of the slightest, but loving his pen as he did, it was natural for our friend to welcome the feeblest flutterings of the Muse and he seemed to take a particular interest in local efforts. Knowing how constantly he was besieged with manuscripts, I was careful never to send him anything not already in print, but would occasionally enclose a trifle of verse from the paper in which it had appeared, so when a short poem entitled "Later Days" reached him in the *Springfield Republican*, he sent me the following note in return:

Oak Knoll, Danvers
2nd mo. 27, 1886.

My dear friend Lizzie Hume:

I was glad to get thy pleasant letter and the charming bit of verse it contained. The little poem is fine in conception and execution. I think one line might be better: "a fire of crimson gleams from maple spire." The omission of the article "the" is a defect. It might be changed perhaps to "of crimson lit the maple spire," or might be changed thus, "or if the fire of crimson gleams from maple spire." I think the first suggestion the best, however.

I meant to have been in Amesbury about this time but the weather is awful and I must wait. My knee I think is somewhat better.

With love to thy father, mother, Bella and her family, I am very truly thy friend,

John G. Whittier.

After this, he always suspected me, and was wont to ask, "Is there anything in thy pocket?" I think only once did I produce anything, a New Year's Song which I thought might go to music, and he read it over commenting on the possibilities. Music was to him, as he

himself said, "a closed book," and for a long time I believed him to be tone deaf, for the most incredible tales were told me of his indifference and almost dislike particularly to instrumental music; further consideration has convinced me, however, that he was really supersensitive in ear, and that while tones and intervals did not register in their true relation for lack of training, they were heard with pain, for that very reason. He was very sensitive to speaking voices and appreciative of agreeable ones, while his extraordinary feeling for rhythm was evinced in his beautiful reading of poetry, when his voice rose and fell in most musical cadence. Although my own primary interest from very early days was for music, we did not touch on this in our talks, so when some verses of mine giving a literary interpretation to Moskowski's "Suite of Nations" reached him in the *Burlington Free Press* I did not dream of his taking it seriously, and was correspondingly surprised when soon after in Amesbury and sitting with him in the garden room he began suddenly: "Thy verses now, there is a place where two lines ought to go in, I'll show thee," and turning to his desk he scribbled a couplet or two and put them into my hand saying, "There, try thyself, something like that."

A day or two after, as if to complete the matter, came from him by mail the newspaper copy of the verses cut in two, and two lines inserted in the place where he thought them needed, together with the following note: My dear Friend:

I have ventured to suggest two lines so that "touch" instead of "facile fingers" may agree with "with Chopins breathes;" perhaps something better may occur to thee. If thee will send it back to me, I will have some slips printed. I want half a dozen myself, and will send thee the others.

Cordially thine,

John G. Whittier.

Thus admonished and encouraged, I tried again and finally dispatched the changed verses to which he speedily returned the following:

Dear friend:

The poem came back greatly improved but I am afraid

the "far relate" line is not allowable; some line must be had to keep the next which is so good. Could this do?

The common speech for which we wait
Making all life articulate."

If this will answer, send me a line and oblige,
Thy friend,
J. G.

Even the honor of being so more than worthily entertained did not prevent my feeling that the whole stanza ought to be remodelled, and this I finally accomplished to my kind friend's satisfaction, and in due time came the prettily printed copies done at the office where he had his own poems set up for their final revision.

A year or two later, I wrote Mr. Whittier, asking if he thought my verses would be considered unpublished material, since their first appearance was in a newspaper report of a musical occasion where it was read, and his own copies seemed merely a private affair. He returned the following letter, full of kind suggestions but sadly indicative in its script of his failing strength and eyesight:

Newburyport
Dec. 1, 1891

My dear Friend:

I went away from Amesbury sooner than I expected when I saw thee. In regard to thy question, I see no reason why some sensible editor might (not) like thy poem. The *At the Piano*, has been published in local papers and would not be regarded as an original poem. It was copied into several papers and some body would remember it. I doubt however that much benefit would result from the sale of the poem. Magazines are loaded down with manuscripts and they get good writing without paying for them, while at the same time they pay for writers of established reputation for matter much inferior to that offered by unknown writers. I wonder whether there is not a musical magazine in Boston, edited by my old friend John Dwight. I wish thee would send him "*At the Piano*." My eyes trouble me so much that I can scarce see what I write but I hope thee can decipher it.

I hope thee will write some nice things this winter. I think thee has the gift of felicitous expression of thy thought.

With regards to thy mother and father, I am truly thy friend.

John G. Whittier.

Whittier's seventieth birthday in 1877 was the occasion for a large outpouring of literary tributes, and among them the address of the citizens of Amesbury and the poet's beautiful response obtained a wide circulation in the press. Of that beautiful December day itself, I have my own personal remembrance, for early that morning in company with two other young friends of his, I started to carry to Danvers, the portfolio of water-color sketches of the Merrimac Valley and the large basket of flowers, the especial gifts of the ladies of Amesbury.

As we descended from the train at the first of the Danvers stations, uncertain if it were the right stop but certain of our celebrity, we inquired of the busy brakeman, "Is this the Danvers where Whittier lives?" And the puzzled response was "Whittier, Whittier, what does he do?" but trusting to luck we were fortunately right. Arrived at Oak Knoll, we found our friend, apparently settled down for the day. He had sent a bit of verse to be read at the *Atlantic Monthly* luncheon planned in his honor. The morning was cold and he felt reluctant to leave his fireside. But after we had displayed our gifts and the day drew sunnily on, he became open to persuasion; one of our number had brought as her personal gift, a beautiful pair of sealskin gloves, and I have always felt that the gloves carried the day. At all events, we assisted with delight at his departure for a train in ample time for the festivity, which by reason of certain unique features became historic. For it was on this occasion that Mark Twain made what was meant to be the speech of his life, but which somehow wasn't and where Mr. Emerson read in his most impressive fashion "Ichabod" as Whittier's most powerful poem, which it undoubtedly is, but which seemed a not quite happy selection for a convivial banquet. However, there were other features of more appropriate cheer, and I am sure our friend never regretted going.

While Whittier dreaded these public gatherings, he

always enjoyed them if not the center thereof, and his descriptions of them later were always most entertaining. The previous summer, he had attended the *Atlantic* celebration of the birthday of his friend Mrs. Stowe; a garden party at the Newtonville estate of his friends the Claffins, and he regaled us with a full description of the affair. The day had been beautiful, and he had fallen in with many old friends. He remarked, however, that he thought some of the ladies rather over-dressed for a garden party, the more that he had never seen the heroine herself in anything better than a "good black silk." I heard afterward, that he had been deputed to attend at luncheon the authoress of "Little Lord Fauntleroy," a lady of much charm, but given to rather decorative costumes. Before leaving for Boston, and his birthday celebration, our friend gave us each a signed and dated autograph, and later came to our leader his formal note of thanks, enclosing a check to be applied through us to the charities of Amesbury, as the winter was one of peculiar hardship industrially.

To my friends and me, that day, the poet seemed an aged man; who could have foreseen that my companions, young, vigorous, and interesting, would pass away years before the man whom we went to honor?

In 1894, two years after Whittier's death, I printed for private circulation, and with the approval of his executor, a copy of the verses to music, entitled "At the Piano," coupled with a preface which included our correspondence concerning their making. From this I have quoted briefly in the foregoing, since the little book itself is now somewhat rare.

THE MCINTIRE GENEALOGY.

BY HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP.

To create a background for the bright particular star of the McIntire family with whom the recent publication *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver*, written by Dr. Fiske Kimball, and published for the Essex Institute, is concerned, it has seemed of interest to gather such information as is contained in the records and to follow briefly the fortunes of the three founders of the name in New England.

Of the three, we know that two, and believe that all three were among that group of 350 or more of the 5,000 Scotch prisoners taken by Cromwell at Worcester and Dunbar in 1650-51, who were sold for £5 each to the colonists, 30 or 40 of them to the Saugus Iron Works, to serve ten years.¹

The two known to have been at Saugus were Robert and Malcolm. Of Robert, we find but one mention when he is quoted as having deposed in Court on 11 January 1653, that he "aged about twenty-four years, . . . was employed by Thomas Wiggins in carting coals." This was in one of the many suits concerning the affairs of the Saugus Iron Works. Accepting as approximately correct the age given, he was born about 1629. The name of Robert is a comparatively rare one at this early date and in twenty years of the Court Records, among the many hundreds, if not thousands of names, it occurs only eighty-five times. It is thus noteworthy that a Robert is found in this family in 1727, though that is merely a hint in the way of evidence of connection.²

¹ *The First Iron Works in America*, Howard Corning.

² It has been reassuring to find, after some hesitation, advancing the above theory, that a hitherto entirely unknown searcher, Hon. Charles J. McIntire of Charlton, Massachusetts, had, in 1905, arrived at precisely the same conclusion. His genealogy of a branch of the family, headed by Daniel, son of Philip and Mary McIntire, which settled in Charlton at an early date and spread over Worcester County, was printed privately in a small book commemorating the Dedication of the Dexter Memorial Town Hall on 21 February 1905. The genealogy bears evidence of careful research.

Of Malcolm, we have more definite reports, as follows: He was in Saugus in 1653, was married before 4 September 1671 and died in 1705. We believe, but without definite proof, that he and Robert were brothers. He was taxed in Dover in 1659, and 1663 as Micum, the Scotchman, was granted land at Kittery in 1662 and was bondsman for William Gowen in 1667. On 22 June 1670, he bought two pieces of land from John Pearce (Pierce), whose daughter Dorothy, widow of Alexander Mackaneer (McNair), he married before 4 September 1671.³ He built the house which McIntire occupied in 1671. Malcolm appears a number of times in York Deeds, buying four or five acres, on which the house stood at the time of his marriage, from Alexander Maxwell. He had also bought 40 acres from John Pierce, Dorothy's father, on 19 June 1670 and sold an acre and a half of marsh to Samson Anger, 1 January 1671. On 21 July 1678, he bought 40 acres more from Pierce and sold them the same day to Thomas Trafton, and he bought 10 acres of marsh at Goose Cove from Matthew Austin, 10 December 1694. All this land appears to have been along the York River. He had various grants from the town.

His wife's mother, Phebe, was the widow of Isaac Nash, who married after 1662, and before 7 July 1668, and they were both killed by Indians in 1692. She herself died before Malcolm made his will, 17 April 1700.

The normal spelling of Malcolm's Christian name and surname have been used so far but, like most of the Scotch names, they had both been mangled and maltreated long before this in many ways so that it would seem that Malcolm in despair of ever righting it had himself abandoned all effort and accepted the commonest form of Micum and so named a son. As to the family name, we are not sure of how many forms it takes but in the Salem Vital Records it is found in fourteen different spellings. Except in direct quotations the one form only will be used. It will be noted above that Mr. McNair had also been troubled the same way.

³ Gen. Dict. of Maine and N. H.

John Bracey and Micum McIntire, sons-in-law of John Pierce, divided his real estate in 1697, Micum being administrator of the estate. Bracey was in Salem in 1703⁴ and later in Boston. Pierce had arrived in York in 1653. Bracey married, as her second husband, Anne (Pearce or Pierce) Carmichael.

The Garrison House, still standing, was built before 1692 by Alexander Maxwell, also a Cromwellian prisoner, who sold a part of it to John McIntire, 27 June 1707. McIntire's house was near by as well as Maxwell's and apparently the Garrison House had been called by both names, for Mr. Banks thinks there was but one house.⁵

The will of Micom Macantire mentions his three sons, John, Daniel and Micom, gives the homestead to John and 20 acres "on this side of the (York) river and 20 acres on the other side out of my three score there of land I had of Micanmure and my father Pierce and one third of land at the 'Partings.'"

To Daniel, land "I had of John Carneale" and 20 acres of land "on the other side of Yorke Riuer adjoyning Micom's Creek."

To Micum, all land at Bass coue "I had of my father Pierce" and 20 acres the "other side of Yorke riuer adjoyning Daniel's and one third of land aboute Minister's Creek." Dated, 17 April 1700, probated 2 October 1709, Samuel Donnell and James Plaisted, overseers.

Children:

John, died after 1744; mar. Susanna Young.

Daniel, died after 1732 or 1741.

Micum, died after 1743, will probated 21 Oct. 1755; mar. 9 July 1793, Jane Grant.

PHILIP, the third of the McIntires, appeared from nowhere so far as any records so far discovered are concerned and the writer believes that the reason for this absence of his name in vital, land and court records is to be accounted for by assuming that he, like Malcolm and Robert, was one of the Cromwellian prisoners sent to the

⁴ Essex Deeds, 10: 69.

⁵ History of York, 2: 224.

Saugus Iron Works.⁶ He is first heard of in Reading, Mass., a few miles from Saugus, where the date of his marriage, 6 September 1666 (Middlesex Court Records), to Mary, surname unknown, is recorded. In the list of inhabitants assigned land in the division of the "Great Swamp" in Reading, in 1666, the name of Philip appears.

He lived in the North Parish and at least six of his many children were born there. In Middlesex Deeds, vol. 33, p. 214, "Philip Mackentire of Reading and wife Mary for love and affection and also dutiful behavior and future encouragement of his son Jonathan of the same place" conveys to him about 10 acres of land in "South end of Reading by the Highway." Dated apparently 15 December 1700 [the paper is mutilated] and entered 19 May 1736. He is called a 'husbandman' as appears in a deed, vol. 22, p. 247, where, for 4 li., he conveys "to Hananiah Hutchins of Lynn, husbandman, 18 acres of land in Reading near a place called Sadler's Neck, a lot lately laid out in Reading Common, bounded by Eph. Savage and Isaac Hart, Gold's meadow, John Phelps and Richard Haradine." His wife Mary consents, giving up right of dower. Both sign with marks and the date is 1 September 1686. The deed was acknowledged 27 September of that year but not recorded until 10 June 1723. In vol. 9, p. 149, "Philip Mackintire of Redding" conveys to Thomas Bancroft of Redding, 26 November 1684, for £4 "one piece of land in Redding containing 10 acres, situated in upland commonly called the 'Great Plain' bounded by land of Thomas Bancroft, formerly belonging to John Bachelor, east and west by the Towne highway, north on the Town Comon." Both Philip and Mary make their marks and John and Abigail Phelps are witnesses. The date is 26 November 1684, and acknowledgment was

⁶ Eaton's *History of Reading* says that an 'ancient seat' of the McIntires was in Thomas Rayner's field in the north-east Precinct in 1680, where there was a cellar hole and that Philip was living there. Philip was a subscriber of £3 for a Meeting House in 1688, also of £1:4:0 for the purchase of lands from the Indians in 1718 as were his sons Jonathan and David. David, Jonathan and Samuel were taxpayers in 1720 and they likewise signed the petition for the Meeting House.

made in Salem by the grantors at that time. Why there, is not apparent and he was surely still living in Reading as the following deed proves.

It is evident that he died after 4 May 1719 and before 26 January 1720, for on 14 April 1719, according to Middlesex Deeds, vol. 22, p. 61, Philip Mackentier, senior, of Reading, for 100 li. "conveys to his son David of the same place, about 40 acres of upland, meadow and swamp in Reading, on the north side of the Ipswich river, bounded by a stake and stones, joining the 'Gusset Land' west, southward to the middle bounds, south by a white oak and swamp, etc., to the first bounds." It is dated 14 April 1719, signed by Philip and Mary, and acknowledgment was made at Cambridge, 4 May 1719. In 1720 and 1721 Philip [junior] of Salem, Jonathan of Reading and Samuel of Reading, all husbandmen, acquit their brother David of Reading of all dues, debts and bills from the estate of their father Philip. Likewise on 25 September 1721, in Middlesex Probate Court, Daniel receipts for 3 li. 7 s. due him out of his father Mackintire's estate, as also his brother David of Reading. Witnesses were Jonathan Poole and Nicholas Belknap, 25 September 1722.

Children, born in Reading:

Philip, born 15 Mar. 1666/7; mar. 20 Feb. 1695, Rebecca Wilkins (Williams, Salem Recs.)

Thomas, born 15 Oct. 1668; died 24 Oct. 1668, ae 9 days.

Daniel, born 20 Sept. 1669; died about 1730; mar. before 1696, Judith Pudney.

Mary, born 3 Jul. 1672; mar. 30 June 1699, Thomas Rich of Salem.

John, born 20 Mar. 1678/9; died after 1754; mar. 8 April 1701, Elizabeth Daniels of Watertown.

David, born 12 June 1688; died about 1724-5; mar. 4 Sept. 1712, Martha Graves.

Five others appear to be children of Philip, senior, although no dates of birth and death have been found; two, however, are certain from the receipts in the Probate records in 1720, viz., Jonathan and Samuel. What

became of the others at that time is unknown. Marriage records have been found which seem to be theirs but certainty is impossible. Some perhaps were dead, two probably minors.

Children, order of birth unknown:

Sarah, born about 1677; mar. 18 May 1697, Joseph Pudney; removed to Oxford, 1728.

Jonathan, born about 1684; died after 1720; mar. (int.) 6 Dec. 1705, Martha Graves at Ipswich, a widow.

Samuel, born about 1682; died before 23 Sept. 1765 of Reading; mar. 15 Oct. 1706, Mary Upton.

Thomas, born about 1683; died after 1724; mar. about 1704, Mary Moulton.

Joseph.

PHILIP MCINTIRE, junior, born 15 March 1666/7 in Reading, lived there as late as 1695. He bought land from John Putnam, senior for £40 2 April 1724, being then of Salem Village (Danvers), husbandman. It was within the then bounds of Salem, on the northwest side of the Ipswich river and he sold it to John Putnam, junior, in 1738. The former deed does not seem to have been recorded. It is perhaps there that 'McIntire's saw mill' was still standing in 1745. Between 1695 and 1699 he removed to Salem Village (Danvers) and his children were all baptized there except the first one, Ebenezer, who only lived about a month and died at Reading. On 10 February 1718/9 he sold, for £4, to Joseph Hutchinson, senior, of Salem, husbandman, "all interest I ever had in Comon lands."⁷ He was taxed in Salem Village for Minister's Rates from 1697 to 1700 and in Salem from 1703 to 1724.

No record of his estate is filed in Essex County and it would appear that he died before December 1724, though there is no record. He married 20 February 1694/5 Rebecca, baptized 4 January 1684/5, daughter of Henry and Rebecca Wilkins (called 'Williams' in Salem Vital Records). "Rebekah wife of Henry Wilkins died 9 April 1689, a. 40 y."

⁷ Essex Deeds, vol. 48, p. 248.

Children, born in Salem Village, except Ebenezer born Reading:

Ebenezer, born 1 Dec. 1695; died 7 Jan. 1695/6.

Mary, bp. 28 May 1699; mar. 20 Nov. 1719, John Roffe (Rolfe).

Rebeckah, bp. 28 May 1699; mar. 1 Oct. 1719, John Norrice (Norris) of Fairfield, Conn.

Philip, bp. 7 Jul. 1700; died after 1723; mar. 15 Nov. 1721, Hepzibah Wooden of Beverly.

Joseph, bp. 2 Sept. 1716; died 30 Jul. 1776 (ae 60, *Salem Gazette*), mar. 19 Mar. 1746/7, Sarah Ruck.

Ruth, bp. 18 Jul. 1703.

Stephen, bp. 2 Sept. 1716.

Daniel, bp. 21 Jul. 1717, "son of Philip."

JOSEPH MCINTIRE, baptized 2 September 1716 in Salem Village (Danvers) Church, removed to Salem proper before 13 July 1751, when he bought part of a house and land at 8 Mill street from Samuel Ruck, his father-in-law which he sold to Samuel Bacon, shipwright, in 1754. In 1933 the United States Government prepared to build a Post Office on this site and it was necessary to remove the house which was taken down and stored until 1939 when it was removed to the Pioneers' Village in South Salem. In 1753, he bought of Stephen Higginson, land, shop and flats "in the South River."

Joseph McIntire was a housewright or joiner and not much has been known about work of his which may still be in existence until very recently a document has been found in the collections of the Essex Institute which gives much information regarding one house and possibly by inference a hint as to another. This paper is referred to by Dr. Kimball and proves that, in the case of the Jonathan Mansfield house, still standing, but in disrepair and at present writing vacant, set back of the shops in Norman street, it had been built in 1758, and Joseph McIntire and Samuel Luscomb did the interior finish. A reference to the design of the coving in the Pickman mansion, built in 1750 and also standing, a wreck of

its former self, offers a suggestion that here too Joseph was the housewright. Whether he was, like his gifted son, a carver has not been ascertained and a figure of "Hope" which stood above the front door is held by some authorities to have been carved by Skillins of Boston.

It is certain from bills and receipts found among various family papers in the Essex Institute that three of his sons, Joseph, Samuel and Angier, worked with their father and in addition to housework they were employed on ship-work. Joseph, the son of the first of these, was also a wood carver.

Joseph was taxed in Salem from 1745, and soon married, 19 March 1746/7, Sarah, born about 1718, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Cheever) Ruck, and he died in July, 1776, aged 60 years, while his wife survived him, dying 17 February 1795 in her 77th year. The following lines appeared in the *Salem Gazette* of that date:

In hopes of glory she was quite involv'd!
She smil'd at Death! and longed to be dissolv'd!
From her decays a pleasure did receive,
And kindl'd into transport at the grave.

His wife was administratrix of his estate; Jonathan Mansfield, junior, and Peter Frye, sureties; 8 October 1777, the inventory mentions the Mansion House, £260:00:00; a pew in the North Meeting House, £15:00:00; and a personal estate of £99:14:07.

Children, born in Salem:

Joseph, bp. 24 Jan. 1747/8; died 10 June 1825, aged 77; mar, 2 Jan. 1773, Ann (Nancy) Bowden of Boston.

Sarah, bp. 21 April 1750; died after 1796.

Ruth, bp. 7 Jun. 1752; died young, probably.

Deborah, bp. 22 Sept. 1754; died 5 Feb. 1831, aged 76.

Samuel, bp. 16 Jan. 1757; died 6 Feb. 1811; mar. 31 Oct. 1778, Elizabeth Field.

Angier, bp. 20 May 1759; died about 27 May 1803; mar. 31 Aug. 1783, Mary Symonds.

Mehitable, 'a child,' bp. 2 Aug. 1761.

JOSEPH MCINTIRE, the eldest child of the preceding Joseph, named for his father, born 24 January 1747/8, was, like his father, a house carpenter, and he, with his brothers, did much work also on ships, as we know from many bills and receipts. These, ranging in date from 1764 to 1809, show that these three brothers worked together as well as singly, chiefly, so far as yet known, for Elias Hasket Derby. Samuel, as will be seen later, was pre-eminent as a designer of plans and a wood-carver, but there is direct evidence that this Joseph and his son of the same name also carved although not many examples of their work have been identified. In Dr. Fiske Kimball's book on McIntire and his work he has dealt with this in detail.

He lived in Salem, as his children were baptized in the North Church and in Essex Deeds, vol. 160, p. 181, is an indenture wherein he deeds to Samuel, Deborah, Mehitable and Angier, children and heirs of Joseph McIntire, deceased, the dwelling house, land and buildings on the corner of Mill and Norman streets, and Samuel deeds the same day his share to the others. These deeds are dated 4 March 1796. This was the year that Chestnut street was laid out. Either he or his son carved the capitals of the columns of the Salem Custom House in 1819 as well as the work of the Dudley Pickman house at 27 Chestnut street. His intention of marriage was dated 2 January 1773, and his wife was Ann (Nancy), probably daughter of John and Ann Bowden of Boston. He died 10 June 1825 and his wife about 7 September 1818 in Salem.

Children, born in Salem:

A daughter, bp. 10 Nov. 1776.

Ann (Nancy), died after 1851; mar. 25 Mar. 1798,
Jonathan Glover.

Joseph, bp. Feb. 1779; died 21 Sept. 1852, unmarried.

Samuel Ruck, bp. June, 1781.

SAMUEL MCINTIRE, baptized 16 January 1757, in the First Church, Salem, was versatile, as is indicated by Dr. Kimball, being not only an architect and wood-carver

but something of a musician. His inventory notes a Hand Organ, a Spinet and a Double Bass Viol, while a receipt among the manuscripts shows that he rented the last to a Committee for some celebration. He married, 31 October 1778, Elizabeth, baptized 13 October 1754, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Dean) Field. They lived on Summer street at the corner of Norman street; the house, still standing, was built in 1780 and we suppose that prior to that date at 8 Mill street with his father. Adjoining and in the rear of the Summer street house was his shop. He died 6 February 1811 and his wife was buried 17 October 1815, aged 62. She bequeathed to her grandchildren, Sally Field, Priscilla Field, Samuel and Hannah (Ann), the house and personal estate in shares to the first three and to Hannah half the shop and one quarter of the personal estate, 24 January 1814, probated 31 October 1815, the real estate being valued at \$2,750.

Children, born in Salem:

Samuel Field, bp. 29 Aug. 1779; died young.

Samuel Field, bp. Nov., 1780; died 27 Sept. 1819; (sic) aged 36-30, Salem *Gazette*; mar. 15 Jan. 1804, Hannah Hammonds.

ANGIER MCINTIRE, baptized 20 May 1759; in the First Church, Salem, the third of these brothers, followed the family trade and is also called a 'carver,' though no known samples of his work have been identified. He lived and worked in Salem for Elias Hasket Derby, Joshua Ward and others, probably being one of the family at Mill street. He married, 31 August 1783, Mary, baptized 13 February 1763, in the First Church, daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Downing) Symonds. He died 27 May 1803 and his wife 2 December 1829, aged 65. The Vital Records of Salem give only baptisms of children who may have been half-grown at the time.

Children, born in Salem:

A child, bp. Nov. 1794.

Eliza, bp. 16 Apr. 1797.

Sarah, bp. 16 Apr. 1797.

JOSEPH MCINTIRE, baptized February, 1779, in the North Church, Salem, was unmarried. He followed the same trade, having his shop and house at 6 Chestnut street. A letter in the notebooks left by Mr. Francis H. Lee states that the writer recalls him as "a quiet and mysterious man with an air of mystery hanging about his life." This house was a two-story one and was apparently there in 1800, four years after the street was laid out and stood there until 1853, when it was demolished and a new house built. Joseph died 21 September 1852, and the Glover family, who had lived there with Joseph, had moved to a new address in 1853. Ann or Nancy McIntire was the wife of Jonathan Glover. Specimens of this Joseph's carving remain unidentified, as has been said nor is it possible to distinguish between the work of the father and son.

In the *Salem Gazette*, issues of October 15th and 19th, is found the following: "Administrator's Sale. Stock and Tools of a Carver. On Wednesday, October 20 (1852) at 10 o'clock, will be sold by Public Auction, at the dwelling house of the late Mr. Joseph McIntire, in Chestnut street, ALL THE ARTICLES OF CARVING left by him, (finished and unfinished,) consisting of Capitals for columns, in the several orders of architecture; Billet Heads; Stern Ornaments, carved eagles, of several sizes; Medallions; Pilasters; Arches; Rosettes; Mantel & Bureau Ornaments, &c, &c, &c.

"Also— about 25 volumes of Architectural Books, some of them rare and valuable.

"Also— some Furniture, Boxes, Tables, Chests, Drawers, valuable Carpenter's and Carver's Tools, a quantity of Seasoned Stock, 2 Bass Viols, &c, &c.

"Terms cash on delivery."

Daniel Clarke, cabinet maker, for \$1800 paid by Joseph McIntire jr conveys land on the north-east corner of Chestnut street, running west 48'3" to Daniel Gregg (formerly Jonathan Neall), north by Gregg about 88'9", south by Neall about 80', mortgaged to Isaac Williams 17 May 1804 for \$656 and interest. Mary the wife of

said Daniel Clarke consents, consideration \$1. Dated 27 July 1805.

Witness:— Hobart Clarke.⁸

We now come to the last of the line it is intended to follow here, although in other branches it had been growing fast. This is Samuel Field McIntire, baptized in November, 1780, in the North Church, Salem.

He, too, was a wood-carver and is supposed to have inherited some of his father's talent but not fully employed because of his intemperate habits. His house and shop were on Hamilton street and evidently he had been forced to give up both house and shop in the winter and spring of 1815. The contents of both were advertised for sale at auction in April and December of that year and the entire family disappears from the records except that their grandmother, Elizabeth McIntire, in her will, written 24 January 1814 and probated 31 October 1815, left the Summer street house and shop as well as her personal estate to the four children as has been shown above. Also on 4 July 1820⁹ guardianship papers were taken out for Sarah F[ield], aged 16, Samuel, aged 14, Priscilla F[ield], aged 12, and Hannah Ann, aged 8.

The following advertisements appeared in the *Salem Gazette*:

April 18, 1815 Samuel F. M'Intire, Carver, Cheap Side, Summer Street, [Salem]. Ship Heads, Festoons for Sterns, Tablets and Blockings for Chimney Pieces, Brackets, Draperies, Pottres for Friezes, Eagles from 5 inches to 2 feet 6, a variety of Figures, Butter and Cake Stamps, Furniture, Carving and Bellows Tops.

December 19, 1815 at the House lately occupied by Mr. Samuel M'Intire in Hamilton Street. A variety of Carved Ornaments, viz:— Eagles from 1 to 2½ feet high, Busts and Figures for the same. 1 Elegant Grape Frize, 5 feet long and 7 inches wide. 1 Elegant Swag Flowers, Tablets, Puttres and a variety of other ornaments.

⁸ Essex Deeds, vol. 177, p. 16.

⁹ Essex Deeds, 20: 230.

Children, born in Salem:

Sarah Field, bp. 26 May 1804(?) (this record cannot be explained.); bp. 19 Jul. 1804.

Samuel, born about 1806.

Priscilla Field, bp. 2 Jan. 1808.

Hannah Ann, born about 1812.

The writer desires to call attention to the possibility of here and there an omission or error in this genealogy caused by the absence from the records of names and dates or, in some cases, of the destruction of the original records. Also the continual repetition of Christian names makes it difficult in some cases to decide to which Samuel or Joseph reference is made; however, so far as Samuel, the carver, is concerned the descent cannot be questioned.

BURT SILVER FOR RICHARD DERBY.

D ^r	Cap ^t Ric ^d Derby To Benj Burt	C ^r
1763		
Mar 1	To 3 Silver Tankards w ^t 89 ^{oz} -13 @	
	6/8 pr oz	£29.17.8
	To making of D ^o	8
		<hr/>
		37.17.8
	C ^r Jan ^y 10 by 88 ^{oz} of Silver —	29. 6.8
		<hr/>
		8-11.0

Receivd the Above Contents in full

Benj Burt

PUPILS IN EARLY SALEM SCHOOLS.

The following list of boys in early Salem schools was found on papers laid into the original notebook of the record of houses on Essex street, written by Col. Benjamin Pickman in 1793. This record of houses was annotated and enlarged by Dr. George B. Loring, and printed in Volume VI of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*.

March 25, 1716. Catalogue of Boys belonging to Salem Gramm^r School:

Stephen Sewall, John Wolcott, William Osgood, Sam^{ll} Jefferds, Excused, John Cabot, Nicholas Noyes, James Osgood, Henry Williams, Will^m Willoughby, Hab^k Gardner, John West, Joseph Dean, Nath^{ll} Andrews, Sam^{ll} Ruck, Benjamin Sewall, Benjamin Brown, Benjamin Pickman, Edmund Batter, Sam^{ll} Swasey, Roger Derby, John Pain. Excused. 19 boys 2/6, 2:7:6; Ap^r 14:1716. a Note on v^e Treas^r for 10:2:6, total, 12:10:0.

List of the Scholars at M^r Sewall's School, May, 1752:

Zechariah Hicks, 1754, Tho^s Toppan, 1758, Nehemiah Northey, 1759, George Curwen, John Clarke, 1784, Benj^a Gerrish, Samuel Ward, Samuel Gardner, 1762, Jacob Manning, Stephen Goodhue, Samuel Barton, 1773, Benj^a Pickman, John Pickering, Nathan Goodall, Thomas Lee, Samuel Browne, 1754, Benj^a Browne, 1762, Thos Browne, 1756, Stephen Higginson, John Sparhawk, James Odell, Abijah Northey, George Gardner, 1773.

A List of the Scholars in Master Noyes's School, Sep^r, 1785:

F. Cabot Goodale, Tho^s Pickman, Jn^o Appleton, William Pickman, Jos Osgood, Benj^a Dodge, Ezek Hearsey Derby, Benj^a Herbert Hathorne, Israel Dodge, Jos Chipman Ward, Natha^l Osgood, died in 1794, Jos Sprague, Peter Lander, George Ward, George Gardner Lee, William Gray, George Osborne, Jacob Ashton, died in Jan^y 1788, Philip Sanders, Joseph Pierce, died in 1793, Henry Dodge, Benj^a Russell, John Needham, John Page, Thomas Barnard, Samuel Ward, died in 1793 at sea, William Hunt, Stephen Richardson, Sam^{ll} Ingersoll, Samuel Gerish, Joshua Ward, Jacob Rust, Edward Norriss.

FRENCH NEUTRALS IN MARBLEHEAD.

DOCUMENTS COPIED FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES
BY JOHN H. EDMONDS.

1756. Account of the Town of Marblehead's Expenses
on the French Neutrals Dr.

March 2	To 2 yards Cotton and Linning 4/ Buttons 8d. thread and hair 1/	5. 8
23	To 9½ pounds bread 1/7 6 pounds butter 4/6 rum and wine 2/4	8. 5
24	To ½ hogshead Bread 13/4 14 pounds rice 3/ sugar and wine 2/	18. 4
30	To 1 hogshead Bread 26/8 6 pounds Hoggs fatt 3/	1. 9.8
	To 4 pounds butter 3/ 6 pounds flour 1/3	4. 3
Apr. 2	To 4 Gallons Mollasses at 2/5	9. 8
10	To 1 hogshead Bread 26/8 ½ quin- tall fish 6/	1.12. 8
	To 6 pounds butter 4/6 6 hoggs fatt 3/ 16 pounds rice 3/4	10.10
	To 4 1/8 Cords wood and duties at 12/8 4 pounds Tobacco 1/8	2.13.11
19	To 4 Gallons Molasses 9/18 14 pounds rice 3/ 4 pounds Hoggs fatt 2/	14. 8
20	To 9¾ pounds pork at 5d. ½ hogs- head Bread 13/4	17. 4¾
	To 126 pounds Beaf at 3 1/4 ¼ yard German Serge 1/8	1.15.10
	To ¾ hogshead Bread 20/ 6 pounds Hoggs fatt at 7d.	1. 3. 6
May 13	To 25 pounds pork at 5d. 4 pounds Hoggs fatt 2/4	12. 9
18	To 1½ gallons Molasses at 2/5	3. 7½
20	To ½ hogshead Bread 13/4 26 pounds pork at 5d.	1. 6. 2

22	To 14 pounds rice 3/	14 pounds	
	flour 3/ 6	Hoggs fatt 3/6	9. 6
29	To 1/2 barrell pork 33/4	6 pounds	
	Hoggs fatt 3/6		1.16.10
			<hr/>
			11.14. 2 1/4

To Hendly and others for halling	
13 11/16 Cord wood more than	
a mile distance at 6/ per Cord	4. 2. 4
To Philip Sanders for Bread	4. 3. 4
To the rent of two Houses 5 months, 66	6.11

Marblehead June 1756 Nathan Bowen) Overseers of the
 Errors Excepted per Ebenezer Stacey) Poor 18 Persons
 Benjamin Boden) 21 weeks is 378
 George Newmarch) weeks 1 person
 John Bartoll) comes out about
 3/6 per week each

(Endorsed)

Deduct 6d. per week for one person 378 Weeks is £9.9.0
 which Deduct from £66.6.11 Remains £56.17.11 which
 is alowed

Marblehead Accounts Expended on French Neutrals to
 June 1, 1756

(Backed)

By the Care of Major Reed To be Lodged at the Secre-
 tary's office.

Committed To inquire how many Warrant Advised
 September 7, 1756, £56.17.11

— Vol. 23, p. 104.

Marblehead ss. A List of Neutral French in this Town
 this 20th Day of August, A. D. 1756.

1 Family Joseph Degan	3 Family James Dentremore
Anna Degan	Margarit his wife
Mary ———	Joseph ———
Elizabeth ———	Margarit Daughter
Monich ———	Paul ———
Peter ———	Belony ———
Isadore Garden	Anna ———
his Wife and	Aben Dean
Child Total 9	Joseph Brassiel (?) 9

2d Family Peter Lander	4 Family James Ainers
and his wife	Anna Wife
Mary ———	James ——— Junior
Martha ———	Mary his wife
Mary ———	Tetose ——— (?)
Jane ———	Isador ———
Elizabeth ———	Bassil Beluue (?)
Sarah ———	Eushel Amore 10
Peter, a Boy	—————
Total 9	19
—————	
18	

Received June 5, 1756

Attest: Nathan Bowen Overseer

— *Vol. 23, p. 106.*

“In the House of Representatives October 13, 1756
 “Voted that the late French Inhabitants of Nova Scotia now in the Towns of Charlestown and Marblehead being forty Nine in all be forthwith removed from thence to the hereafter mentioned Towns in the following proportion being To Medway 6, To Bellingham 4, To Walpole 4, To Sherburne 5, To Natick 6, To Southborough 3, To Dudley 6, To Medfield 5, To Holliston 4, To Dracut 4, To Dunstable 2. Voted also that the Sheriffs of the Counties of Essex and Middlesex be directed to Cause the said French Persons to be conveyed to said Towns respectively, and in all things concerning them to govern themselves by the Laws and Orders of this Court: making provision for the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia sent here from that Government. And that said Laws and Orders be sent to the several Towns, that they may be duely Executed, especially those Paragraphs relating to the keeping the said French Inhabitants in the several Towns.”

— *Vol. 23, p. 231.*

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

“Marblehead July 24th, 1756.

“Persuant to your Honours Orders have taken up one Morris Ashton a Deserter and Committed him to Salem

Goal, please to order him to be sent for,—

“I am your Most Humble Sarvent:

“Jacob Fowle.”

— *Vol. 55, p. 389.*

“Boston July 27, 1756

“Sir, I am directed by His Honour the Lieutenant Governour to inform you that he has received a Letter from Collonel Fowle, Wherein he acquaints him that each Company in his Regiment have procured the Number of Men assigned them to be raised for the Expedition (the list whereof he has sent), except the Company under your Command which is deficient Six Men, And that he cannot by any means get you to procure them;

“His Honour does therefore hereby require you without Delay to raise those Six Men out of your Company and have them sent forward for this Service, or else that you give him some solid Reason why you do not comply.

“Major Richard Reed.”

— *Vol. 55, p. 402.*

Petition of William Brown, “that he have been imposed upon And likewise Deluded by one Captain Thomas Peach of Marblehead . . . That Your Honour’s poor Pettitioner have been a poor Stranger lately Came to the Country having Neither friends Nor Interest to Vindicate His Cause . . . That Said Peech out of Spite to him Declared that he would press him to goe in this Expedition against Crown Point, Your Honour’s poor Pettitioner, being not a Capable man Nor any Way fitt to Serve his Majestie, or to perform Any Such Duties as May be Expected, being Under Some perticular Circumstances, being Subject to both Interior And Exterior Infirmities, being the fitts and the Kings Evil that he had a few Years agoe Disables him intirly When Exposed to Cold Weather, although Said Peach came to his Lodging with two of his Officers and Declared that he would brake Open all the Doors in the House unless he Would find Said Pettitioner the Lanlady being So Much Skeared, having her House in Such An Uproar, Commanded Said Peech out of her House, but being in Such a flusteration abused her most

Unaccountably, Your Honour's poor Pettitioner being in Such a consternation and in an agony not Knowing What to Doe but Kept Clear of him all the time Untill att last Said Peech Complied to give him One Hundred pounds old Tenor if he Would Voluntarily goe for the Space of two Months, and then att the Expiration of Said time to be Dismissed According to Verball agreement The Said Pettitioner Condescended rather than be pressed by him though being under Such Circumstances as before mentioned With a proviso that Said Peech Would perform his Agreement, Which he Never did, said Pettitioner Can Testifie the Same by producing Many Evidences, Note alsoe that Said Peech harboured Said Pettitioner in his Own House Severall Days from being pressed for his Own Interest Which he Obliged Said Pettitioner to Make him a full Satisfaction for the Same

“May it therefore please Your Honours, To take Your Honour's Poor Pettitioners case into Consideration to Dismiss him out of this Confinement it being Noe benefit to his Majestie, Nor to Your Honours, Nor of Noe Interest to the Country to have a poor Stranger imposed Upon after this Manner, having noe Bed Nor Bed Cloathes, or Noe place to Lodge in but laying on Bear Boards intirely Exposed, Said Pettitioner being in a Miserable Condition begs the favour of Your Honours Charatable Disposition, to take Said poor Pettitioners Case into Consideration, to order Said Peach to Doe him Justice as Your Honours Will think proper And likewise to Redeem him out of this Confinement.”

—*Vol. 76, p. 114.*

LETTER OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER TO
REV. ENOS HITCHCOCK.

This letter was written to Rev. Dr. Hitchcock of Beverly when he was serving as an army chaplain, and relates the failure of the Penobscot expedition. He was a friend of Washington and Kosciusko, witnessed the death of Maj. André, and at the conclusion of the war, settled in Providence, R. I., where he spent the remainder of his life.

Ipswich Sept. 20th. 1779.

Dear Sir,

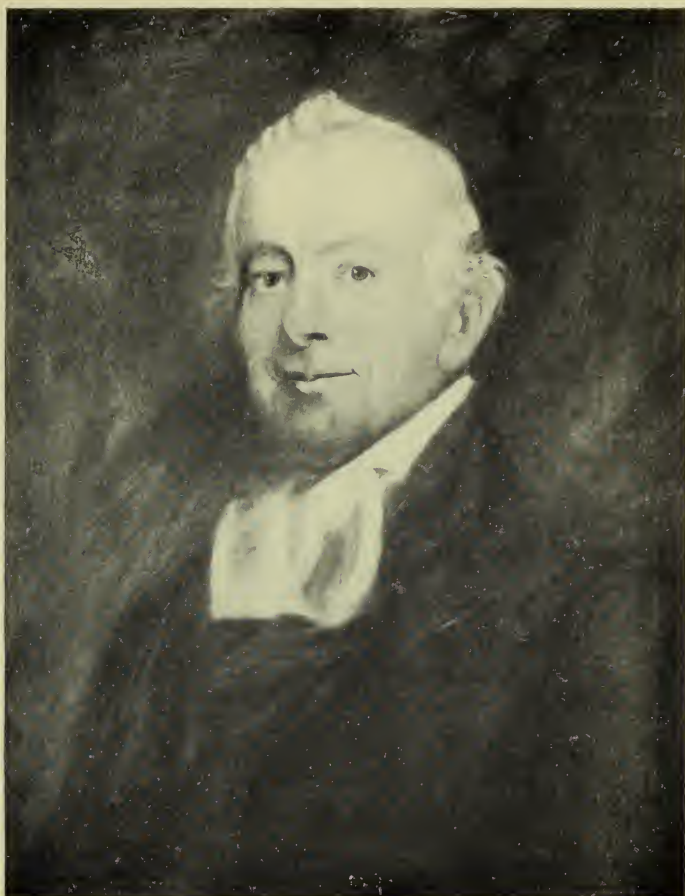
Yours, by Capt. Francis, of 10th. Aug. came safe to hand, & should have wrote you earlier, had I known of any conveyance.

I congratulate you on the Spanish war, the success of our illustrious Alley, & ye glorious news, we have this day received, by a ship from Holland—that ye grand French & Spanish Fleet have Blocked up the British in Torbay, the inhabitation are moveing Back into ye country in great consternation, & that ye Empress of Russia has refused to afford Britain aid in her present Quarels.

Our Spirits have been sadly depressed by ye unhappy Penobscot miscarriage, in which ye American Arms have suffered so much disgrace; but as it would not bear thinking of, it is almost forgot—I wish it might be obliterated from ye Annals of ye present War. The particulars have not been published—ye commanding Officers are to attend a Court of Enquiry this week.

Never was ye popular cry raised higher against Commanders, than against Lovel & Saltonstall—how far they merit ye resentment of their Country is impossible to say untill we know circumstances. You know ye old maxim, which will ever hold good with ye bulk of mankind—“Success is merit—misfortune a crime.”

The most knowing in this affair, who were on ye spot, & those who have conversed with ye Commanding Officers, are inclined to think, there was no defection in their per-



REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, LL. D.

1743 - 1823

Pastor of the Hamilton Church

From a portrait in possession of the Essex Institute

sonal Bravery. But the Expedition suffered greatly from ye. rawness & ungovernable disposition of ye. Militia ye ignorance & misconduct of subordinate Officers & a series of unfortunate Events that attended them. It is, however, undoubted fact, that ye Landing ye Troops was effected with great bravery, & ye conquest would have been completed in a few hours had not a number of ye best Officers fell, & others failed in persuing ye advantage they had gained. Even McLane has acknowledged the bravery of this action & would have given up ye place, upon a demand or an attack on ye fort without opposition. The Commodore had been fortifying the bows of a number of his ships, with large timbers, in order to pass a narrow chanel to attack ye Enemy's Shiping & was actually coming to sail for that passage at ye instant ye Enemy's fleet appeared coming up ye river. One Frigate, ten ships & five armed vessels were lost—two, only, fell into ye hands of ye Enemy.

This may, possible, prove one of those unaccountable Affairs, in which there was a most wretched failure nobody knows why & yet nobody was to blame.

The season has been remarkably fine especially for Indian Corn near double ye usual quantity was planted—& never were the fields better loaded with full grown & well ripened ears.

The appreciation of our money, after all, is at a stand; & is ye most alarming difficulty we have to encounter. Many of ye stupidly ignorant, avaricious Farmers are determined if possible to break over ye regulations. But ye Merchants & Sea Ports, to their honour, strictly adhere to them, & appear to be determined.

Doct^r Whitney has returned from a successful cruise desires his best regards to you, & bids me tell you, he is bound another Trip—& expects, if meets with success, to return one of John Bunyan's heavy A-ful Christians.

Our old Friend, the gallant, magnanimous, intripied Master Herrick has been to Penobscot, fired off his pistol, & safely returned.

I hope you will give me ye pleasure of another Letter, as soon as opportunity presents.

Mrs. Cutler joins me in our most cordial affections to
you

And am

Most Affectionately yours

M. Cutler

Rev^d Mr. Hitchcock

— *Essex Institute Manuscript Collection.*

[On back of letter, Rev^d M^r Cutler, Sept. 20. Rec^d Oct.
18. W. Point.]

DERBY SILVER.

John Derby Esq to Paul Revere Jr	D ^r
To Engraving Silver bol [bowl]	\$6.50
Boston March 4 1801 Rec ^d pay Paul Revere	

Boston y^e 15 Feb 1763

Rec^d of Richard Derby Esq^r five pounds in full for three
Silver Tankards

Sam^l Minot

— *Essex Institute Manuscript Collection.*



REV. ENOS HITCHCOCK, D. D.

1744 - 1803

Pastor of the North Beverly Church

From a miniature in possession of the Essex Institute

WASHINGTON, D. C., LAND OWNED IN
SALEM, IN 1797.

"This indenture made this 24th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-seven. Between James Greenleaf of the City of Philadelphia, Esquire, of the first part and John Appleton of Salem, in the District of Massachusetts, merchant, of the other part, witnesseth, that the party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of thirty thousand dollars well and truly paid by the party of the second part to the party of the first part," . . . conveys "the following lands and estate lying and being in the City of Washington in the District of Columbia in the State of Maryland, viz, Square South of Square South of 506, containing forty thousand, eight hundred and sixty-three square feet. Lot No. 6 in Square 664. Lot No. 6 in Square 610. Lots Nos. 5 and 8 in Square 654. Lot No. 9 in Square 611. Lot No. 10 in Square 702 and Lot No. 10 in Square 609. (Signed) James Greenleaf."

"This indenture made the 26th day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-seven. Between Roger Johnson of Frederick county of the one part and John Appleton of Salem in Massachusetts, merchant of the other part. Witnesseth that the said Roger Johnson for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred and twenty pounds, current money (The Maryland pound was valued at \$2.66.)" . . . to "John Appleton, his heirs and assigns, all those two pieces, parcels or lots of ground situate in the City of Washington, one of them numbered 6 in Square numbered 610 and the other of them numbered 6 in the square numbered 612." . . .

"This indenture made this first day of May in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and ninety-seven by and between James Greenleaf of Philadelphia, Esquire, of the one part and John Appleton of Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, merchant, of the other part.

Witnesseth that the said James Greenleaf for and in consideration of three thousand dollars, current money of the United States to him in hand paid by the said Appleton," conveyed . . . his share in "a certain brewery, distillery and brew house in the city of Washington in the possession of Cornelius Conyngham and Co., and the lot of ground on which the same are erected together with all his the said Greenleaf's stock in the said company or right therein, and to all the instruments, utensils and implements belonging to the said brewery and distillery and all the profits which have accrued or shall accrue therefrom."

James Greenleaf by W. Cranch, Attorney. Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Will Deakins, Jr., Gustavus Scott. May 1, 1797.

Received of John Appleton three thousand dollars being the consideration mentioned in the foregoing deed. James Greenleaf, by W. Cranch, Attorney. Witness, Will Deakins, Jr. Acknowledged before Gustavus Scott, one of the Commissioners of the city of Washington.

"This indenture made this second day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-seven, by and between John Appleton, of Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, merchant, of the one part, and Henry Appleton and John Appleton, Junior, both of the same Salem, merchants, on the other part. Witnesseth, that the said John Appleton for and in consideration of the sum of nine thousand dollars, current money of the United States to him in hand paid by the said Henry and John, Jr.," conveyed . . . the following described lots and pieces or parcels of ground in the city of Washington in the Territory of Columbia, to wit, the whole square south of the square south of Square numbered 506, Lot numbered 10 in Square numbered 658, Lot numbered 6 in Square numbered 610, Lot numbered 6 in Square numbered 612, Lot numbered 6 in Square numbered 654, Lot numbered 6 in Square numbered 664 and Lot numbered 10 in Square numbered 702; also all his the said John Appleton's share in the brew-house and lot on which it stands and his share of

the stock in the brewery and the utensils and implements therein used, and held in partnership with a certain Conyngham with all the said John Appleton's right, title and estate of, in and to the same whether in law or equity or any part thereof." (Signed) John Appleton.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Willard Peele. Sam. Very. Received of the within named Henry Appleton and John Appleton, Jr., the sum of nine thousand dollars being the consideration within mentioned. John Appleton. Salem, Oct. 2, 1797. Witness: Willard Peele. Sam. Very. John Appleton appointed Wm. Cranch of the city of Washington in the Territory of Columbia, gentleman, his attorney.

State of Maryland, Prince George's county, to wit: On the 26th day of October, 1797, before us, the subscribers, two of the justices of the peace of the County above said, came Samuel Very, one of the subscribing witnesses to the within written indenture and made oath on the Holy Evangelists of the Almighty God, that he saw John Appleton the grantor within named, sign, seal and deliver the said indenture on the day of the date thereof as his act and deed for the uses and purposes therein mentioned and also the letter of attorney endorsed thereon and that Willard Peele, the other subscribing witness also then and there subscribed his name as witness thereto. I. T. Frost. Daniel Carroll of Duddington. Here follows Cranch's acknowledgement of deed as attorney for Appleton.

—*District of Columbia Land Records*, Liber. B, folios 640, 685, 696; Liber C, folio 225.

BOOK REVIEWS.

O. C. MARSH, *Pioneer in Paleontology*. By Charles Schuchert and Clara Mae LeVene, both of Yale University. 1940. 541 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, \$5.00.

This is the first definitive biography of one of the most distinguished scientists of the last part of the nineteenth century in this country or Europe. His father was of the Danvers Marsh family, and he was a nephew of George Peabody, through whose financial assistance he was educated at Phillips Andover Academy and Yale College. His life spanned the enormous change in world thought which was to establish the doctrine of evolution; which doctrine came to be accepted partly through Marsh's own outstanding discoveries in the West of dinosaurs, five-toed horses and birds with teeth. Inheriting a fortune from his uncle, Professor Marsh was able to further the cause of scientific discovery at Yale, where from 1866, when he was appointed Professor of Paleontology, until his death in 1899, he brought to his college a great museum of natural history, which has made the name of Marsh well-known throughout the scientific world. He was preeminent as a collector and led many expeditions from Yale to the West in search of fossil vertebrates. The collections which he made in the seventies and eighties of the last century for the United States Government and thus for Yale form his most enduring monument. For twelve years he was president of the National Academy of Science, the greatest scientific society in this country. It is interesting to note that, as a youth, one of his earliest activities occurred in 1852, when he arranged the specimens of minerals in the Essex Institute while on a visit with his sister, Mrs. Robert Waters, in Salem. On one occasion during his college days, when Mr. Peabody was talking over with his nephew the prospects of inheriting part of his wealth, Mr. Peabody said, "If I make you rich, you will never do anything." However, it so happened that of his fourteen nieces and nephews, Marsh was the only one to achieve national, not to say international, prominence. He loved his chosen field — natural science, and the Peabody money set him free to cultivate it, and, as he remained a

bachelor, he devoted his whole life and fortune to it. This volume gives a complete account of his discoveries, and by the aid of sixty-three plates and figures shows his most important restorations as well as portraits of his relatives and colleagues. Professor Schuchert and Miss LeVene have produced a biography which is authoritative, and which will be welcomed by scientists in this and other countries. Recommended to all libraries.

DESCENDANTS OF READE OR REED. Compiled by Mrs. L. S. Meadows, assisted by Miss Jennie M. Ames, Cleveland Ohio. 1937. 300 pp., octavo, cloth, multigraphed. Cleveland, Ohio: Address, 2625 East 75th Street. Price, \$3.00.

A 300-page genealogy of William Reade, pioneer resident of Massachusetts, in Boston and Woburn, and some of his descendants.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE. The Evolution of an Educational Ideal. By Arthur C. Cole. 1940. 426 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, \$4.00.

Dr. Cole, who is Professor of History at Western Reserve University, was chosen to write a history of this college, by the committee appointed by President Woolley, which was composed of Viola F. Barnes, Emma P. Carr and Ada L. F. Snell. The history was not to be merely a story, but an authoritative source of information on the changing concepts in education and society in relation to opportunities for women during the past hundred years; and the names attached to this project testify to the thoroughness of the work. Although recently there have been other histories of Mount Holyoke published, yet this seems to have a different and more far-reaching approach to the whole subject of the fulfillment of higher education for women. In this sense it is more than a history of the Massachusetts college, but a very able presentation of the whole movement. Included are biographical sketches of Mary Lyon and Miss Woolley, an interesting account of the change of seminary to college in 1888, and thirty-two illustrations of nineteenth and twentieth century personalities and activities which add color to the story. Dr. Cole has uncovered many journals, diaries and letters hitherto unknown from which he has obtained

contemporary material, and has made copious extracts from those on file in Mount Holyoke library. An account of the portraits of Mary Lyon by Bertha E. Blakely concludes the volume. Strongly recommended to all libraries and to all interested in the development of education among women of the nation.

SOME DESCENDANTS OF NATHANIEL WOODWARD, MATHEMATICIAN. Compiled by Percy Emmons Woodward. Edited for the author by Mary Lovering Holman. 1940. 63 pp., octavo, cloth, map. Newtonville, Massachusetts: Privately printed.

This Woodward genealogy contains all the facts used in a previous volume which has been revised and brought up to date by Mr. Woodward and Mrs. Holman. The family was first in Boston as early as 1633, the pioneer, Nathaniel having been a surveyor, and later were found in Taunton and Buckland. It is a handsome little volume, well printed, and furnished with a full index. Recommended to all libraries.

YANKEES AND YORKERS. By Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College. 1940. 237 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: New York University Press.

In this series of eight lectures, Dr. Fox has given us a most readable and enlightening résumé of the border troubles between New York and New England. It is delightful, because it tells, without bias, the characteristics of both groups and graphically describes the struggles for supremacy. It will be surprising to those not too familiar with the history to realize how the Connecticut and Massachusetts families edged their way into the wilds of New York and Long Island, and made settlements after the old New England plan. War with the Dutch of New Amsterdam was pressed by the Connecticut and New Haven Colonies in 1653, but Massachusetts, led by Major Gen. Dennison of Ipswich, consulted the clergy, and hesitated to go to war. A Salem teacher, who claimed to represent "many a pensive heart," claimed that it would show weakness before the Indians. However, William Hathorne voted against it, "which left Simon Bradstreet with one vote opposing seven." When the matter came before the Dutch and British governments, no one was more effective than Sir George Downing. New England finally won, and New Netherlands disappeared. In

his treatment of the Vermont boundary disputes, Dr. Fox pays his respects to the sharp practice used by the Yankees. In his chapter on "The Great Migration" he tells of the great exodus from New England to New York after the Revolution, which populated up-state New York; as well as of the shipping merchants, like the Lows and Goodhues of Salem, the Griswolds of Connecticut, the Grinnells and Minturns of Rhode Island and innumerable seamen who built up the port of New York. One of the most fascinating chapters is "Yankee Culture in New York," in which Dr. Fox relates that for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, New England dominated business in New York and Brooklyn. The old Dutch and other Yorkers began to resent this, and this resentment was shown in the literature as in the works of Cooper and others, some of whom referred to Yankees as Puritans and "avaricious Pharisees." The retort courteous was frequently used by Dwight and other clergymen of New England, who criticised the appearance of York towns, while overwhelming them with New England ideas of religion, education and music. The nineteenth century influence of New England on New York is revealed by the statement that in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821, the majority of the 127 delegates were born in Connecticut or were sons of fathers who had come from there. This is an informative volume for individuals and libraries. A good map of the region is included.

WHALEMEN ADVENTURERS. The Story of Whaling in Australian Waters and other Southern Seas related thereto from the days of sails to modern times. By William John Dakin. 285 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson, Ltd. Price, 12/6.

Professor Dakin of the University of Sydney has crowded into the pages of this book a tremendous amount of interesting data, not only on whaling in the Southern waters, but on the American whaling industry, beginning in 1712 at Nantucket. Indeed, the business of extracting whale oil for England began there and continued to flourish until the Revolution. Then the English turned to Australasia for its supply. The author has had access to all sorts of maritime records, including log books, family manuscripts, and personal stories of whaling days, and has produced a very comprehensive and fascinating volume. There are forty-one

illustrations of great interest. The whaling industry built up Australia and New Zealand and Professor Dakin very graphically tells us how. The first edition was disposed of so promptly that a second edition has been demanded.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN QUAKER GENEALOGY. By William Wade Hinshaw. Volume III. 1940. 540 pp., quarto, cloth. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Incorporated. Price, \$16.00.

The third volume of this important work, just published, continues the genealogical information found in all records of both Hicksite and Orthodox groups of the New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. It includes the New York (originally Flushing) Monthly Meeting; the Westbury, of Long Island; the Jericho, of Long Island; and the Flushing Monthly Meeting (second organization) of Long Island. The fourth and last volume will include New England. The book is lithoprinted, with a full index, and is indispensable in any genealogical library.

ROBERT CALEF of Boston, and Some of His Descendants. Compiled by Anne Calef Boardman. 1940. 195 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Salem, Massachusetts: Privately printed by Newcomb and Gauss Co. for the author. Price, \$7.50.

This is a new genealogy of the descendants of the merchant, Robert Calef of Boston, who was a vehement objector to the witchcraft delusion, and will be of great interest to the family in various parts of the United States. It is partially a reprint from the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, but Mrs. Boardman has carried out several generations beyond the point where the genealogy ended in that publication. The book has twelve half-tone illustrations, and has an attractive format and binding. Several appendices include early records of the Calefs in England, records of Calefs in all the wars in this country, and a bibliography. A full index completes the volume. A very few copies are for sale. Recommended to all genealogical libraries.

OLD MARBLEHEAD. A Camera Impression. By Samuel Chamberlain. 1940. 78 pp., square octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Hastings House. Price, \$1.25.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H. *A Camera Impression.* By Samuel Chamberlain. 1940. 78 pp., square octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Hastings House. Price, \$1.25.

These are two of Mr. Chamberlain's latest books which will delight thousands, who revel in artistic views of old New England scenes and houses, such as this master etcher and photographer can produce. All New England is indebted to him for bringing the beauties of this part of the United States to the attention of the whole country, and no one can look at these beautiful pictures without a desire to own the book. The whole American landmark series now includes, besides the foregoing, Gloucester, Boston, Cambridge, Salem, Lexington and Concord, Wayside Inn, and Nantucket. These are gift books which will be greatly appreciated.

COTTON MATHER. *A Bibliography of His Works.* By Thomas James Holmes. Three volumes. 1940. 1395 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, the set, \$15.00.

Cotton Mather is still the most salient, representative, interesting, controversial, provocative figure in the Colonial New England scene. Mr. Holmes's bibliography provides an easy grasp of the outlines of his printed works, which run to the amazing total of four hundred and forty-four. In addition, Mr. Holmes includes notes on fifteen works which Mather prepared definitely for the press but which for various reasons were not published, and about one hundred and fifty-six unnumbered entries which include paraphrased and imperfect titles. The title-page of the first edition of each work, and in some few instances also of the second edition, has been reproduced. Scholars who are familiar with Mr. Holmes's earlier bibliography of Increase Mather will not need to be told of the thoroughness, completeness, and high value of the present work. As Mr. R. W. G. Vail said of the Increase Mather volume, it shows "what a near approach to bibliographical perfection looks like." Every library featuring early Americana should own this important set.

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